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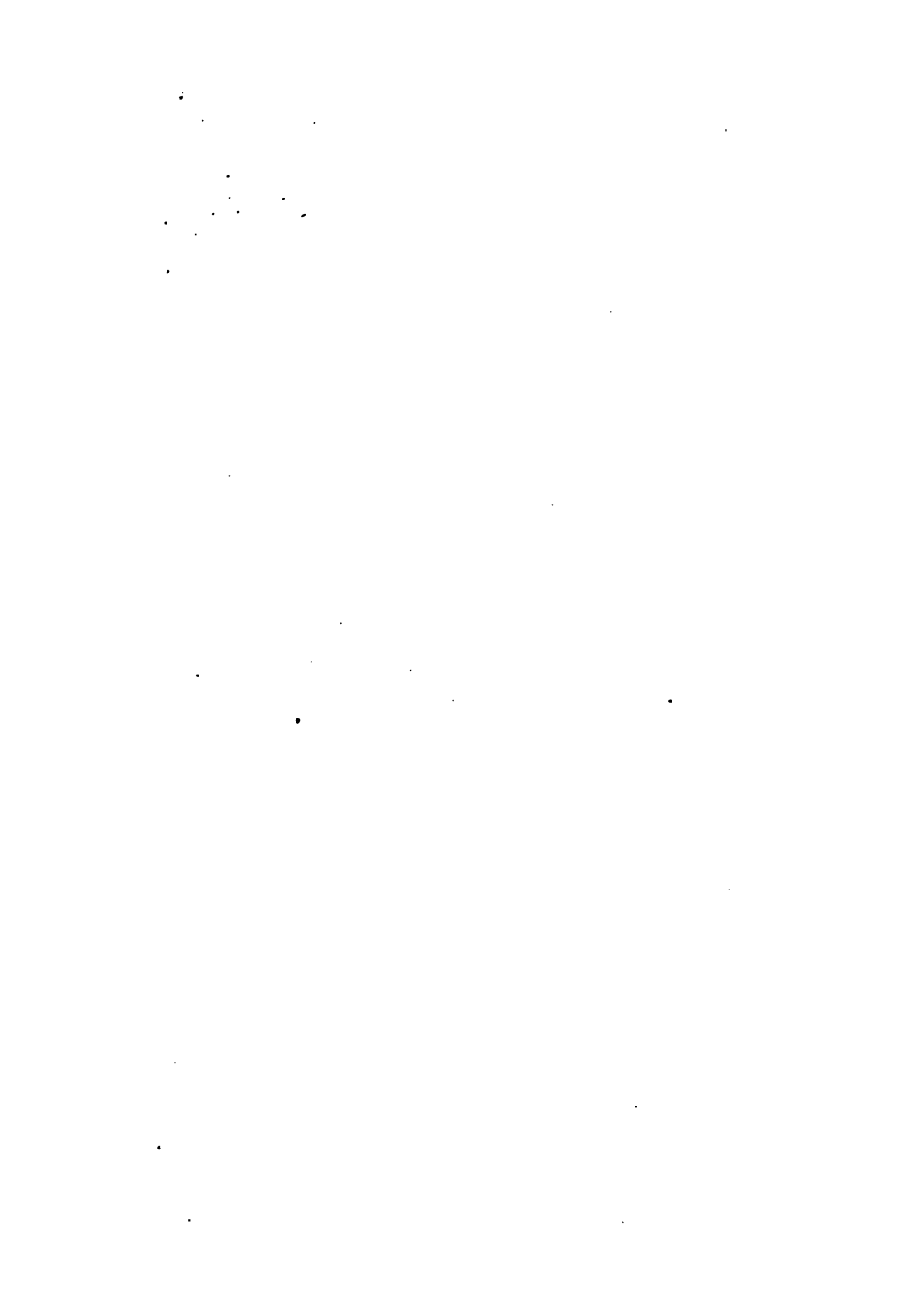


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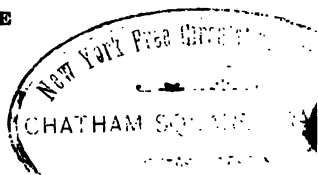
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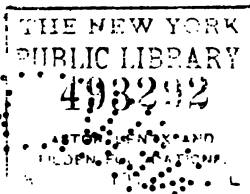
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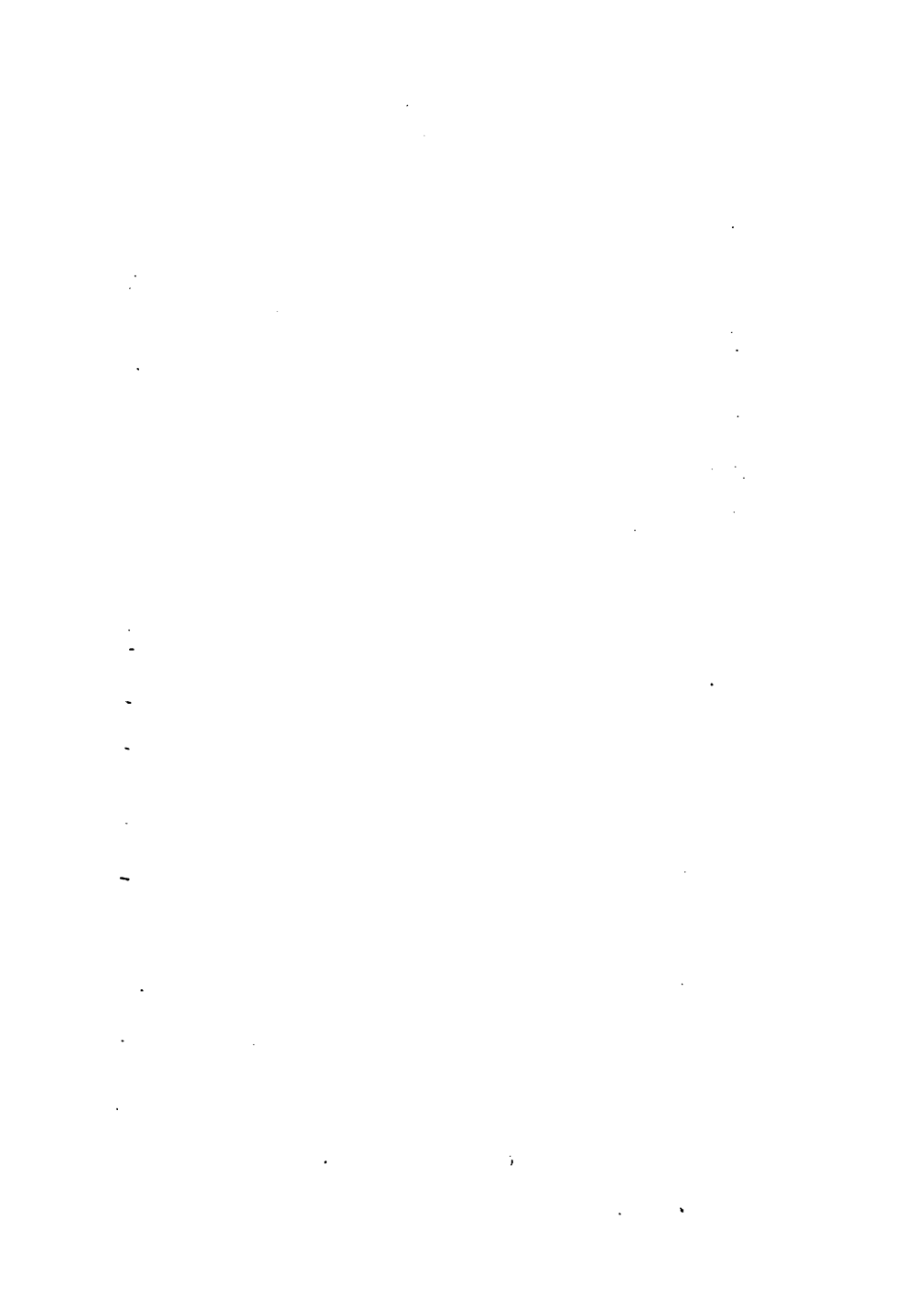


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TO
A. S. H.



PREFACE.

To three of my colleagues in the faculty of the Episcopal Theological School, Dr. Alexander V. G. Allen, Dr. Henry Sylvester Nash, and Mr. Edward Staples Drown, I am greatly indebted for suggestions and criticisms. Professor W. J. Ashley, of Harvard University, and Mr. Robert A. Woods, of the South End House in Boston, have advised me concerning the economic questions discussed in these lectures, though they must not be blamed for any of my errors either of fact or of judgment. To Dr. Albert Shaw's books on municipal government I have referred in the text; the chapter on "The City" could not have been written without them. Mr. Edmond Kelly's "Evolution and Effort" helped me much in stating the practical phases of the municipal problem. I have diligently studied Arnold Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution" and Professor Ashley's "English Economic History" and Canon Barnett's "Practicable Socialism." I have made use of the "Handbook of Socialism," written by my friend and colleague in the Church Social Union, the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. The lecture on "The Divided Church" I have read at the Ministers' Club of Boston, and before companies of ministers and lay people at Springfield, Mass., Middletown, Conn., Gardiner and Bangor, Me., and Grand Rapids, Mich.; it was also printed in the "New World" of September, 1896.

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THE NEW FORCES.

WE are beset with problems. The characteristic symbol of this generation is the question-mark. Our patron saint is the sphinx.

This is the result of the increased complexity of modern life. The new discoveries and inventions, the new forces, the new opportunities, the new ideas, bring with them questions for which we must find answers. As the race grows older, man becomes more introspective, and to the problems of the world without are added the more subtle problems of the world within.

The difference is manifest and significant between the first great poem and the last great novel. In the poem men and women live out of doors under the sky, and contend together with arms rather than with arguments, and solve their difficulties, so far as fate and the intrusive gods permit, by the might of their stout hands, and manifest the frank, aboriginal passions. But in the novel the aboriginal passions have lost their ancient liberty; they struggle with new conventionalities and social complications, like a lion in a net; and the interest centers no longer in the fight between a man and his neighbors, but in that longer

and harder fight whose field of battle is the mind and heart, where man is in contention with himself. Thus along with introspection comes a new moral earnestness which intensifies our problems by making them problems of conscience.

Accordingly, the adjective "Christian" may properly be written before our present problems. They are Christian because they have to do with character. Take, for example, so homely and apparently unreligious a matter as the repairing of a street. There seems at first to be but a remote connection between paving-stones and prayer-books; but it is plain, when we stop to think about it, that the condition of the street affects the character of the children who play in it, and of the men and women who live in the houses that front upon it. Dirt and disorder touch first the body and then the soul of man. Clean people are delivered out of many temptations. Courage and hope and industry and diligence and the Christian religion prefer clean houses. The dirt of the street comes in at the windows, and all good graces begin to be discouraged. It is not without reason that we are taught that in the ideal city, the heavenly Jerusalem, there will be clean streets paved with gold.

Thus sanitation, and the administration of the city, and politics, and rent, and wages, and the conditions generally under which men work and live between Sundays, are of direct concern to the Christian religion. Christianity has to do with the whole man, because all that enters into the life of man, all that affects his body or his mind, touches his soul, changes

for better or worse the man himself, determines his character, and therefore his eternal destiny. And Jesus Christ came to save man, to save him here and now, by helping him to get free from his sins and by bringing heaven out of the distant sky into his streets.

These Christian problems confront us under the conditions of our own time. They are present problems. Some of them, it is true, are so old that they date their beginning from the gate of Eden. Abel, the first farmer, and Cain, the first mechanic, hold animated and tragic discussion upon the very threshold of the world. Old, however, as they are, they need continual restatement. For we change and the conditions change. The men of the old time met as best they could the questions which beset their generation, but their books do not satisfy us. We must be addressed in our own speech, and by those who are acquainted with our own circumstances. Thus of the making of books there is no end, because the new books are needed by the new people. The parish will not be satisfied to have the parson read them the sermons of St. Chrysostom or of St. Augustine; they prefer the sermons which he writes himself. The difference in thought and style is great indeed, but the difference in date makes up for it. The saints and masters addressed a congregation which lived under the conditions of their own day, and died long ago; our minister addresses us. And we remember the wise saying, "Sirius may be a great deal bigger than the sun, but it does not ripen our grapes."

I purpose, therefore, to consider some of our pres-

ent Christian problems. The field is wide, the subjects are great, but the lecturer's purpose is, I hope, modest enough. The work which I here undertake is such as belongs properly not so much to the scholar as to the minister. My task is homiletical rather than academic. The lectures are meant to be interpretations of the thoughts of wise men out of the language of the schools into simpler speech; of the researches of historians and of the arguments of philosophers into the practical precepts of common life.

At the beginning it is necessary that we have some understanding of the conditions out of which our problems have arisen and under which they must be solved. We must consider the new forces.

I.

The modern age began with the invention of powder and of printing. Before that, the man with the book and the man on horseback directed the creed and the conduct of the neighborhood.

The "cavalier" was so named from his chief characteristic—he rode a horse. He was also called "knight," and at his best he deserved that Christian title—he was the servant of all who needed service; though even here his most courteous and self-sacrificing ministrations have a suspicion of the spectacular about them. He seems to be thinking of the opportunity offered to his prowess rather than of the distress which he relieves. The whole affair is of a piece with much of the charity of that time, wherein good

people fed the hungry for the sweet satisfaction of it and for the benefit of their own souls. Even in Sir Thomas Malory's "*Morte d'Arthur*" the knight is not engaged in any honest work to earn his daily bread, but spends his time in jousts and tournaments and marvelous adventures, and subsists partly by plunder and partly by the enforced labor of the man on foot.

Sitting in his saddle as upon a throne, clad in stout armor which protected him from fists and clubs, and gave him some defense even against the sharp arrows of the time, the man on horseback was the natural ruler of his fellow-men; he was a match for a great many of them. Meanly clad, bareheaded and barefooted, without organization, they could do nothing. He owned not only the earth, but its inhabitants; they belonged to him, body and soul.

The man on horseback had but one equal and rival; that was the man with the book. Beside the knight stood the priest. He represented a greater kingdom and a mightier power—the kingdom of heaven and the power of God. The knight was honestly afraid of him; he had no shield nor buckler against a curse. The priest had resources which the knight did but dimly understand, and which were the more terrible by reason of that imperfect understanding. Somehow he controlled the everlasting destiny of man; he had the keys that opened the celestial doors. It was plain at least that he knew more than other men; he alone had books.

Books in those days were treasures of great price. They must be copied out, page after page, by the long

labor of the scribe. Books were therefore few. The only libraries were in monasteries and palaces. There were great nobles who could not read. Even the Bible was open only to priests and scholars. Men, accordingly, had no alternative; they were compelled to depend for instruction upon the man with the book, and what he said they must accept, since they did not know enough to ask questions. He told them this and that about the religion of Jesus Christ, about the duty of obedience, and loyalty to the church and to the state, and they took it as the word of God. It was the best they could do.

The man with the book and the man on horseback had their fierce disputes. They contended between themselves for precedence and for the tithes and service of the people. Represented, one by the pope and the other by the emperor, they fought hard battles which take much space in history. The people fought in these battles as they were bid. It mattered little to them which of the two masters won the day. The chess-board is a map of the medieval world, whereon the pawns represent the people, of small account and limited movement; the knights, the castles, the bishops, the kings and queens are the important personages. It was a time of civil and religious despotism.

Then came powder and printing, and the whole world was turned upside down.

The man on horseback found himself confronted by the man with the gun, against whose attack his stoutest armor could not sufficiently defend him. As for the man with the book, he was no longer singular

and above his neighbors. They too had books, and presently could read in them as well as he, and as they read their eyes were opened. It was not true, as the priests had said, that Jesus Christ was on the side of the master. He was a poor man like the most of us, and had to work for his daily bread, and sought his friends not in kings' houses, but in quite other and more humble habitations. As his words were studied in the freshness of that new day, and his meaning was understood with all its import of liberty and fraternity, the Bible became the placard of a revolution, whose Marseillaise was the Magnificat.

The result of the new forces was the modern age. The old régime in church and state, the rule of knights and priests, made a hard fight of it, and was an unconscionable time a-dying, and, indeed, is not dead yet; but democracy and fraternity and the rights of man came into conscious and confident life with the discovery of the forces of powder and of printing.

About the same time a new idea of the world in which we live entered into the mind of man, and contributed to the changes by which the middle ages came to an end and the modern age began. The adventurous journey of Columbus disclosed the fact that Europe was but a narrow parish in the midst of a planet which was far bigger than had been thought, and the studies of Copernicus taught men that even this whole earth, suddenly grown so great, is but a bit of dust in the midst of a universe whose vastness beggared all imagination. Men had gone on for ages, walking in a narrow path, shut in by walls and hedges, imagin-

ing even the sky to be but a blue awning, set conveniently over their heads, and garnished with gold stars sewn securely into it like jewels on a splendid garment. We can hardly understand to-day, when these wide visions are familiar to us, with what a face of surprise the people of the early sixteenth century looked out into the new heavens and the new earth.

At first this new idea seemed to have dethroned humanity. Man, after all, men thought, is not so great as we have dreamed. He shows but small against even the bigness of the earth, and casts but a brief and slender shadow upon it, and in the presence of the constellations, which, it seems, were not set in the sky merely as ornaments for him to look at, the whole race shrinks into insignificance. The incarnation and the atonement appeared in the light of the new ideas to be but the veriest absurdity. It was impossible that the Maker of a universe so immeasurably, so inconceivably, vast, should stoop to regard the microscopic tenants of this tiny bit of matter. What the Bible said, what the prophets and apostles taught—would God it were true! But how could it possibly be true? The preachers of the revolutionary doctrines were therefore dealt with by the church in that spirit of cruelty which comes in when confidence goes out. Men were frightened for their souls, and they attacked these robbers who seemed to be depriving them of all that was most precious as they would have assailed the devil himself.

Presently, however, it began to occur to the wisest of the men of that troubled time that, after all, a man

is better than a pile of stone, and that, though the stone were to be heaped so high that it reached the measure of the earth, still a living, breathing, thinking man is of more value, and that even if there were a hundred thousand or a million of such stupendous stone piles, as big or a great deal bigger, hung in the sky and shining there as suns and stars, yet, in comparison with them all, a man, with warm blood in his veins and good thoughts in his heart, is greater, and is naturally and of necessity more precious in the sight of God, than the whole universe besides. It was seen that size and weight and measurements in scales count for nothing in comparison with personality.

Thus the new inventions and the new ideas worked together to emphasize the importance of the individual man.

In the old days individuality—the right and duty of a human being to live his own life, to think his own unhampered thought, to come to his own honest conclusion and to speak it out—had little place in politics or in religion. Even the philosophers into whose equations it entered did not treat it as a universal, vital fact. They looked at it as idle people looked at the steam which came out of the spout of the kettle on the fire, and never dreamed what it could do. But in the sixteenth century, when powder and printing and Columbus and Copernicus were added together, individuality appeared at the foot of the column. And the Reformation followed, and after that a series of revolutions, Dutch, English, American, French, the purpose of which was to assert and maintain for the

individual that which up to this time he had not had in the church or in the state.

The typical figure of the new era was the merchant. He had, indeed, existed always, but he had been at the mercy of his feudal lords, subject to injustice and oppression and plunder, and the hindrance and hazard of perpetual war. In Italy and in the Netherlands he had built cities and set stout walls about them, and had been able to exact privileges from princes; but in most places he led but a precarious life, drove his trade in the midst of alarms, and had his strong box broken into every year. He is seen amid the array of Chaucer's pilgrims on the road to Canterbury, and tells his tale—one of the unseemliest of the lot; but he has little honor, and the cook and the plowman ride by his side. With the rise of the new forces, and the changes wrought by them, the merchant comes into a place of power. The knights of Spain, in their long war with the burghers of Holland, represent the old in its contention with the new. The contrast in personal appearance and in point of view is wide and significant. Philip II. described the Netherlands as the country which is "nearest hell." It was certainly very unlike Spain. Nevertheless, the burghers routed the knights. Both knight and priest brought against the merchant the whole weight of their arms physical and spiritual, but he stood his ground and put them to defeat.

Thus a new force entered into politics. Two ideas of government had for years contended together. Most men said that power ought to be centralized;

that the most important part of the state is the prince, and that the best virtue of the people is obedience. Some men said, though rather in secret than openly, that power ought to be distributed, and that the prince should be the servant of the people. The two opinions met when the Germans assailed Rome. The victory of the invaders, however, was not a victory of their idea of government. The strong organization of the Latin state fascinated them. The chiefs of the tribes, who in their native forests had been chosen by a rude form of popular election, became kings and princes of the Roman kind. At the time when the new inventions and the new forces entered into politics, government by centralization of power was everywhere in control. The sovereign sat securely on his throne and declared himself the state.

To the merchant, intent upon his business, made self-reliant by his mastery over the forces of nature, accounting his neighbors to be of worth according to the measure of their contribution to the wealth of the world, the strength of his stout arm magnified by his grip upon a gun, and his understanding enlightened by his acquaintance with books, the old tyrannies became intolerable. Within a century the burghers of Holland had made their country free of their king, the mightiest sovereign in Europe, and had erected a democratic government; and the tradesmen of England had put their king upon his trial, had convicted him by process of law of maladministration of the trust committed to him, and had cut off his head.

With the rise of the merchant a new force entered

also into religion. It was essential to his success in business that he should prove all things in order to hold fast the good, and that apostolic precept which guided him on week-days he took to church on Sunday. That keenness of perception, that sharpness of discrimination, that ability to distinguish between the counterfeit and the genuine, which made him efficient in his trade, he applied to the religion in which he had been nurtured. He handled the accepted doctrines of the church as he handled his money, his wheat, and his cotton. It came to him in the course of his business to have prelates for customers, and he got to know them, often too well. Especially the idea which was at the heart of the ecclesiastical and theological conditions of the time, the idea of authority, offended him. He had learned by rough experience that it was not safe to take that which a man said just because he said it. He must bring in reason as attorney, and they two must look into the matter and so decide for themselves. That was opposed to all church order.

So the merchant chose pastors and preachers and doctrines and customs as it pleased him, sifting the old and keeping part, throwing much away. All through northern Europe he refused the rule of the pope; in many places he declined even to hear the bishop. He went outside the ancient church, and established religious societies of his own to agree with what he read in the New Testament.

Interested as he was in politics and in religion, the merchant was especially absorbed in business. He was intent upon his trade and his fortune; he wanted

to make money. The time had been when most men worked for masters, who themselves used what was made. Presently groups of workmen were gathered into guilds, under masters who sold the product of their work. But as the modern age begins the master has given place to the merchant, who supplies him with the raw material, and takes away the finished product, and pays him wages, which he shares among his men. The merchant cared more for his own interests than for the welfare of the working-men whom he did not see. He was much more intent upon his own business than upon the good of the neighborhood or of the state. It took years of injury to inflame the Dutch so that they would fight. Alva was there with all his soldiers, setting up the Inquisition, besieging cities, and massacring the inhabitants; yet the men who were still unhurt went quietly to and fro between the shop and the market, and made such gain as was possible out of the situation. War did not really begin until Alva laid a tax of ten per cent. on sales. Then by common consent the nation suspended business. The baker refused to bake and the brewer to brew. Every shopkeeper put up his shutters; every factory was silent; the whole people rose up in such mighty indignation as no wanton shedding of innocent blood had stirred, and a resistance was begun which did not end till all the Spanish knights and soldiers had been put out.

It must, indeed, be said that the doctrine of individualism thus appearing in politics, in religion, and in business had been taught already, and had been em-

bodied in protest and revolt, even in institutions, before the invention of powder or of printing and before the explorations of Columbus or Copernicus.

It is of the essence of the Christian religion. Jesus Christ preached it. His life and his words, wherever they were in any measure understood, carried this truth with them. Francis of Assisi taught democracy and made it the rule of all his life long before the days of Calvin; and the two men, so different in temperament, in surroundings, in their belief, and in their work, were alike in this, because they learned it from the same Master. It could not be forgotten nor concealed that Christianity is a democratic religion; that it began among the common people; that Peter was a fisherman and Paul a maker of tents, and that the Master himself worked with a hammer and a saw. It was woven into its very texture so deep and plain that no interested ingenuity of exegesis could get it out, and no papal or imperial embroidery could cover it up, that the Christian measure of value is neither strength of arm nor pride of birth, but the quality of character, and that every man, whether king or clown, every man, without distinction of persons, is the child of God, and stands alone and unarrayed, with no title and no crown, simply as a human being and a sinner, before the judgment-seat of God.

And to this unceasing influence of religion must be added the assertions of human nature itself. There was never a time when men were quite content to be herded together and driven to their work like beasts of burden. Even the Roman slaves rebelled. The

mystic teaching individualism in the school, and the friar preaching discontent at the market-cross, had always an ally in the reformer, who stood in the spiritual succession of the Old Testament prophets over against the established oppressions and privileges of the day. No age is without him. In the church he sits among the heretics, and general councils must be summoned to suppress him. In the state he marches with Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, and fights kings, and does not hesitate to hang archbishops. And in all places, especially in northern Europe, where he has Germans and Saxons in his congregation, he finds a ready hearing. What he says appeals to the hearts of the men whose fathers long before had written in their statutes, "The Frisians shall be free as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands."

Individualism, then, did not appear in the sixteenth century as a new force, hitherto unknown, but is rather to be likened to the tremendous energies of electricity, which for ages had kindled fires in the wet clouds, and had blasted trees and burned houses, amazing and terrifying helpless people, but which are now applied to the purposes of the world's work.

It is to be said, further, that the sixteenth-century inventions and ideas made their way but slowly into the general mind. They had, indeed, an immediate effect and appeared in tumults and changes, but for a long time they were like the strong wind, which troubles the surface of the sea, leaving the depths still.

Powder served at first rather to increase the num-

ber of persons entitled to count as individuals than to teach the doctrine of the rights of man. A considerable new company, hitherto disesteemed, came forward to stand with kings and prelates, knights and priests, as men whose names must be remembered and whose opinions must be consulted. But the great mass of mankind had as yet no place, except to carry wood and water and to fight as they were bid. The historians paid scant attention to them. Even the economists were interested in them chiefly as parts of the supply-and-demand machine. The merchant came in at the beginning of the new era, but the wage-earner was discovered only yesterday.

Printing, too, reached but a fraction of the people. The printed books had high prices, out of poor men's reach. It was but recently that the common citizen began to read. Ideas, even under the best conditions, grow but slowly. They do not spring up from the seed and bear flowers, like the juggler's rose-tree, while we wait. It is necessary not only that they should be stated, preached, and printed, but that the minds of men should be ready to receive them; and that takes time. The Copernican theory of the universe tarried in the schools, and even there was but imperfectly realized. When it appeared in such translation as could be read by the people it was accompanied with annotations which concealed its meaning.

II.

The world was in this state, with powder and printing and the wider conception of the universe

among its facts and forces, with consequent new ideas in politics, in religion, and in business working in men's minds, when the discoveries were made which determined the conditions under which we live to-day. Steam and electricity entered into the affairs of life.

Men had gone on, in spite of the sixteenth century, walking in the old paths. There were new thoughts in their hearts, and the new thoughts got themselves translated after a fashion into new behavior; but most people lived, nevertheless, in the manner of their fathers. They dwelt in the same houses, had their clothes cut after the same pattern, went to bed at night and rose in the morning at the accustomed hours, and seldom ventured beyond the old parochial horizon. The growing commerce did, indeed, make some of them acquainted with distant places, and the roads from the village to the town were somewhat better traveled; but, after all is said, the common citizen who wrote the date of 1801 at the top of the page lived in a fashion nearer to the days of Virgil and of Cæsar than to ours.

Coaches and sailing vessels made laborious and protracted journeys over land and sea. Strangers were objects of curiosity and of suspicion. The spirit of that ancient day when the same word sufficed in Latin to mean foreigner and enemy, and which survives in our own time in the attitude which some ardent persons take toward countries other than their own, prevailed then between village and village, so that the four corners "hated" the cross-roads as some Americans imagine themselves to "hate" England. The spindle and the distaff were to be found in well-

appointed households. There was, indeed, a rude beginning of a factory system in public mills, where looms were let out to the weavers; and, with the increasing ease of carriage and passage, competition was sharpening men's wits, that they might reduce the cost and multiply the quantity of the output. It is difficult, however, to realize how life went in a day when there was not a railway, nor an electric wire, nor a machine propelled by steam upon the surface of the planet.

The first effect of the new forces was to increase production. They developed the machine. The land was straightway invaded by an army of iron giants, who must be served by troops of slaves. Their triumphant progress was marked by the banners of black smoke that floated from the tall chimney of the mill. Their camp was the industrial town.

Prices, wages, rents, the condition of labor, the political, social, and moral life of the people, felt the change. Riches increased. The man with the machine made money as in a mint. He smiled at the modest fortune of his father. Within two generations such an amount of wealth had been amassed as equaled all the earnings and the findings of the preceding eighteen Christian centuries added together, and in our own lifetime that has been doubled. Men who began poor were presently able to outbid Croesus. Everybody wanted to be rich. Universal attention was now paid to business. It was as interesting as war and much more profitable. The commercial spirit possessed society.

It seemed for a while as if good manners and courtesy and leisure and simplicity, with appreciation of art and books, and the pursuit of high ideals, must give way before these new people whose interests were in the mill and the market and the shop, and who were intent on the pursuit of material prosperity. It is true that the event proved that a new strength and energy and rugged sense had thus entered into society, but it seemed at first like another invasion of the barbarians. The new people were of an unpleasantly practical disposition, with no gentle traditions of their own, and scant reverence for the traditions of their neighbors. They talked in loud voices, with small heed to the prescriptions of the grammars, and built great, ugly, and expensive houses, which they filled with ugly and expensive furniture. They ran their railroads across the beautiful country; their new towns, enveloped in clouds of furnace smoke, spoiled the view. Thus the manufacturer came forward to stand with the merchant among the notable and characteristic figures of the new era.

The working-man, however, was, for the most part, worse off than before. He was made a slave to a machine. The old, quiet course of industrial life was everywhere interrupted. Men who had been busy at the tasks which occupied their fathers and their grandfathers found themselves without a market. The iron giant had stolen their job. A machine could do more work in a day than they could do in a month, and do it better. In the newer countries, where the working-people came from the farm into the mill,

things were not so bad. But in England and in Europe the small workmen lost their occupation and were forced into a condition very like slavery. The master of the machine gave them work as it pleased him; they were dependent upon him. The work was of a monotonous kind, consisting in the constant repetition of a few motions, and awakened no interest in the mind of the workman. He labored at his task, not because he enjoyed it, not because he took a pride in it, but because he had to, for the sake of his daily bread. Since he could not possibly compete with the machine, he must take such work as might be assigned him, and receive such wages as were paid him, and work such hours as were required, and be thankful for the chance. He had no choice.

He did, indeed, rebel. There were threats and mutterings, breaking out in some places into riot. Hungry people marched in procession, carrying banners inscribed, "Bread or Blood." Early in the century it was deemed necessary to make the wanton breaking of machinery a capital offense. No rebellion, however, was of avail against the master of the machine.

The working-man was not only chained to the machine, but he was imprisoned in the city. The new industrial forces created the new city. There had been cities, some of them of vast extent, wherever human beings had been gathered into nations, but they had grown, for the most part, out of the circumstance of war. It is interesting to read in the Book of Genesis that the first city was founded by the first man who raised his hand to strike his brother. It

was only after several generations that the name of Tubal-cain appears among the citizens, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." The cities had walls about them, behind which in the troubles of the fierce times men might live and work.

The new city which now appeared upon the map of progress was erected in consequence of the centralization of industry which was demanded by the machine. Under the new conditions work depended on the energies of steam and electricity. These were stored in the mill, and the men must live near the mill, and the mill, in order to have easy and immediate access to the market, must be centrally located. Thus the new city grew almost as fast as the new fortunes, and that strong current was for the first time started which ran, and still runs, from the country to the town. At the beginning of the modern era, in Henry VIII.'s day in England, laws were passed to prevent the industries of the time from deserting the town. The great new forces brought them back and kept them.

The working-man came, therefore, with the glow of the fresh fields shining in his cheeks into this new neighborhood. In the haste to be rich the manufacturer built cheap houses, crowded together along the narrow streets, without sufficient sanitation, and grimy with the soot of the mill. The men and women who lived in them were taken out of all the accustomed surroundings of their lives. The traditions in which they had been brought up were interrupted. The wonted relationships were severed. In the village everybody knew everybody; in the crowded mill dis-

tricts of the new city, where people were connected only by the accident of common work often of a temporary kind, families lived side by side like grains of sand in a heap. There were so many of these slaves of the machine that the employer did not know them apart. He did not think of them as individuals.

How wide the distance was between the slums and the suburbs may be seen in the attitude of good people toward some of the earlier efforts to improve the condition of the laboring class. It was not well, they thought, to educate them, lest they become dangerously discontented with their lot. Even the endeavor to amend evident and crying abuses, as in the Factory Acts championed by Lord Shaftesbury, was opposed by reputable citizens. Men, women, and even little children, were made to work at starvation wages, under conditions shameful and cruel, and degrading to both soul and body, and nobody seemed to care. The doctrine of individualism, that every man should be left to carry on his own business in his own way, possessed the social mind. "*Fait ce que voudras*" ("Do as you please") was the motto of the world of industry.

But the new forces had another effect, which all this time was working in quite another way. Steam and electricity affected not only production, but communication.

Town was now connected with town, country with country, continent with continent, by the railway, the steamboat, and the telegraph. The planet, which already in the days of Copernicus was considerably contracted, grew smaller still. That marvelous life was

fairly begun, in the midst of which we live to-day, wherein we are next neighbors to the antipodes, and have the whole world in our parish. We go to and fro between the ends of the earth more easily than men went in the old time between domestic cities; we have grown familiar with miracles, and account all things possible; we talk together across a thousand miles. That which happens in the morning in Asia or Africa we discuss that night at dinner. The fairy stories have come true.

Thus a new thought accompanied the new trade. Men who exchanged their cotton and their wheat with their distant neighbors over-seas, exchanged ideas also, like the printed books which, at the end of the middle ages, came to England from the Continent in bales of merchandise. Not only commercial, but intellectual intelligence was quickened. Life took on a speedier pace. Everybody was in a hurry; every day was crowded full of opportunity. It was discovered, even by common people, that beyond the mountains there are men also, and that they are interesting not only for purposes of war and of commerce, but for comparison of views.

The change which thus took place in the living and thinking of the world may be understood by the experience of those who remove from a quiet village into the midst of a great city. Men who had all their lives dwelt within sight of the steeple of the parish church; whose longest journeys had demanded no more than a single change of horses; who had been occupied with the small details of narrow interests;

who had become acquainted with all the ideas of their neighbors, and had discussed them over and over, rethreshing the threshed wheat, and getting little grain, and in whose lives the chief events had been the passage of the seasons, the brewing, and the harvest, and such domestic hap and mishap as might be narrated in the ale-house or in the churchyard after service; who believed that there was a great world across the ferry and behind the hill, because the parson said so, came now into contact with a larger life. They were brought into strange company and learned strange customs. Instinctively they quickened their step to keep up with the people in the street. They found that there were wise men who disagreed with the doctrines that had been preached in the village by the lawyer, the physician, and the minister. Their minds were filled with new ideas. Old prejudices were put away, and sometimes old truths with them. Everything was questioned, and most people were too busy to tarry for an answer. Customs and traditions which had endured for ages were cross-examined and hastily pronounced absurd. The first effect of the increase of communication was to discredit conservatism.

Since the world began most men had looked with suspicion upon new teachers. They had requested to be let alone. They were generally of the opinion that what was good enough for their fathers was good enough for them. They voted "no" by a large majority. When the advocates of innovation urged them to amend society or church or state, they resented the disturbance and met the men who made it

with the urgent protests of the rack and the fire. But now, with the intermingling of all kinds of people, with the comparison of ideas and disclosure of difference, with the great invasion of industrial novelty, which came with the new forces, men began to change their minds. The present was felt by an increasing company of people to be better than the past. The sons began to account themselves wiser than their fathers. Here and there the old books began to be shut up and the old teachers began to enter upon a long vacation.

As the men of different countries traded together, and visited one another's towns and homes, and were brought by the railway and the telegraph into near neighborhood, wars became less frequent. They interfered with the constructive purposes of modern life; they contradicted and outraged the new sense of kinship. A great desire for peace, in part commercial and in part Christian, and a strong feeling that well-bred nations ought to settle their differences decently by arbitration, began to take possession of the public mind.

With the increasing complexity of life came a new dependence of each man upon the community. More people had more interests in common. As the stress of competition urged men forward in business, it became necessary for them to enter into combinations with their neighbors for convenience, for strength, and for purposes of attack and defense. First the employers formed such unions in order to control prices and markets and wages. Then the men little by little,

taught by experience, entered into associations, sometimes to resist, sometimes to enforce, demands. For hundreds of years, from the day when industry stepped out of the household into the market, there had been concerted action. But the new means of communication, making it possible for men to move together across great distances, and bringing the statistics of the whole world of industry under every man's eyes daily, brought the idea of combination into a new prominence. The trust and the trade-union became characteristic features of our present business life.

Both the faults and the virtues of the time, and all its variety and novelty of thought and act, found a voice in the newspaper. It represents the new communication, as the industrial city represents the new production.

Now, for the first time, the people began to read. Printing had, indeed, been busy some three centuries, and already the books seemed to have no end, but they were read by the scholars and the professional people, by the merchants and the manufacturers, not by the man in the back street or on the farm. The great body of the people was thus but indirectly affected. The newspaper now became the people's book; it was cheap; it was concerned with matters in which common folks were interested, and it used a language which they could understand. All the questions, the alternatives, the plans and movements of the day, were thus brought to their attention. The public policy was submitted to the people.

In society and in business the people were still in

the position of servants; but more and more in religion and in politics they were recognized as brethren and equals. This was the logic of the great forces of the sixteenth century. This was what powder and printing meant. Political democracy grew among the nations. The common man began to have a vote.

And now the people, armed with the ballot as they had long before been armed with the gun, gathered together into armies by the new forces of production, and united army with army by the new forces of communication, and every day instructed by the newspaper so that they all are interested in the same events and are thinking the same thoughts, come at last into full view in the world's life.

In the meantime, alongside of the new forces, thus tending to take the emphasis from the individual and to place it upon the trust and the trade-union, and upon the institutions of society, appears a new idea in science. The great awakening of the sixteenth century is thus paralleled in the nineteenth. The coincidence is so remarkable that we must needs look hard at it, lest a liking for poetic fitness should have colored the plain facts of history. But there it is. With powder and printing came Copernicus; with steam and electricity came Darwin.

It is too much to say that the advance in science, which is so large a present fact, has been caused either by the new forces or by the stress of competition which has resulted from them. It is a part of the general movement of the age. The Nile rises, and the seeds that are asleep in the sand wake into life. Something

like that happens in history. We are living to-day in one of these wonderful seasons of spring, and all our thinking is affected by it.

It is evident, however, that the new forces and the new democracy have their place in the present development of science, and stand in close relation to the very practical aspects which it has assumed. Professor Huxley, indeed, takes exception to Lord Bacon's proposition that the real purpose of science is to contribute to the wealth and comfort of mankind. He insists that the supreme motive is the desire to know, and that the best fruit is truth. Men of science have undergone hard labors and have made sacrifices, not in hope of material gain, but for the joy of the task. The desire to be rich, the expectation of good wages which some philosophers declare to be the indispensable factor in all progress, is not present here. Professor Agassiz has no time to make money. Professor Faraday makes the first machine for the mechanical production of electric currents, but he does not put his motor into a mill. Somebody else may do that and get rich out of it. "The physical philosopher," says Professor Huxley, "sometimes intentionally, much more often unintentionally, lights upon something which proves to be of practical value. Great is the benefit of those who are benefited thereby, and for the moment science is the Diana of all the craftsmen. But even while the cries of jubilation resound, and this flotsam and jetsam of the tide of investigation is being turned into the wages of workmen and the wealth of capitalists, the crest of the wave of scientific investi-

gation is far away on its course over the illimitable ocean of the unknown."

Yet with the manufacturer standing by, urged by competition, with the cry of the market in his ears, it was inevitable that the new needs of the world of industry should influence the work of the scientific student. There was always a company of alert young men going back and forth between the laboratory and the mill. Thus science, which for ages had contributed much to the knowledge, but little to the material wealth or to the convenience of the daily life of man, suddenly became practical and democratic and began to yield the fruits of which Bacon had dreamed.

The advance in general knowledge, in popular interest, in closeness of relation between the school and the street, and in methods of study and instruction, between a former day and ours, is seen in the difference between the appliances of the college laboratory of a generation ago, and those which are in use at present. In 1850, when Professor Cooke began to teach chemistry at Harvard, a small room in the basement of University Hall contained the entire experimental outfit of the institution, and the corporation at the time of his appointment stipulated that he should provide, "at his own charge, the consumable materials necessary in performing chemical experiments." A good high school to-day is better equipped than the best college of half a century ago. Professor Goodale, in his address at the opening of the new science building at Bowdoin College, has noted the change in the manner of instruction. "Scientific

lectures," he says, "were made to wear. A carefully constructed course, well proportioned and fitting the hearers well, would last ten or twenty years, and, with occasional letting out in places, somewhat longer." To-day, so rapid are the changes, so many are the new inventions, the new discoveries, the new applications of science to the needs of society, that yesterday's lecture will need to be revised to-morrow. The time has long passed when the professor of mathematics could teach the natural sciences in his hours of leisure.

The new place of science in education and in life is due not only to the new demand brought by the quickening forces of steam and electricity, but to the impetus of a new idea. In 1859 Charles Darwin published his book on "The Origin of Species."

The doctrine of evolution thus announced seemed at first, like the Copernican theory of the universe, to be an assault upon religion. The world, it appeared, was not made, as men had thought and as the Bible seemed to say, by the direct action of the divine hand, and is not maintained in its constant life by God's unceasing supervision. The world grew by "continuous progressive change, according to certain laws and by means of resident forces." Thus the materialism of the world of action, intent on gain and busy with its marketing, found justification and assurance in a new materialism of the world of thought. This world is all the world there is; the sky is dumb and mute; God is not the Maker of us, has naught to do with us. There is no evidence of him. The creator of the or-

ganic universe was an atom of carbon; the human soul is a physiological expression.

Presently, however, it was pointed out by wise men that the new doctrine did not by any means account for the world in which we live, and still less for man living in the world. Of beginnings it had no sufficient word to say. Concerning the introduction of life into a universe of matter it brought no tidings whatsoever. As to the reason why the particles of matter, the plants, and the animals behaved in so wonderful a fashion, science was silent. The formula of "natural selection," indeed, so far from excluding God, was found to assert stoutly some sort of guidance. The old argument from design, which seemed at first to have failed utterly, was found to have some truth in it, and this it presently passed on to a new argument from design based upon the new conditions and a hundred times stronger. The human will declared that it was still alive. The world to come was found to be the next word in the sentence of the universe, as the new doctrine spelled it out. And the real change which the explorations of Darwin were finally seen to have wrought in the elemental thought of religion was a change from the conception of God as the Maker of a world like a machine which had to be put together and wound up, to the conception of God as the Maker of a world which had in it the divine power of growth, and in whose life God lived. Men ceased to think of God as far removed beyond the circle of the sky, and began to think of him as nearer to us than our thoughts, in whom we live and move and have our being.

Thus the vivifying idea which the new doctrine contributed to the new era was the idea of growth: this grew out of that, and that out of the other, and so on back into the mysteries and the eternities. It was not new; there was already a philosophy of history; but it was put in such shape as to get hold of the general mind. People could understand it; the notion of haphazard was discredited; the search for the causes of things was wonderfully encouraged; the world seemed a more reasonable and intelligible place, and ever so much more interesting; men began to ask about everything,—in science, in politics, in literature, in society, even in religion,—Out of what did it grow? And the answer was taken to be an interpretation of the thing; the old fashion of arguing by deduction, of stating a general proposition, and thence by inference after inference drawing out materials of which to make a paper world, and then writing a book about that paper world, and calling it political economy or systematic divinity, began to give way to the new method of reasoning from observation and putting the facts before the theory.

The new inventions and the new science emphasized society. The doctrine of evolution appealed to the imagination, revealing the race as a great family having a common history and a real kinship. The railway and the telegraph brought people together into unwonted close relations. Life became inextricably complicated, and a new sense of social dependence began to temper that enthusiastic praise of individual liberty with which the century began.

Even before the new era had fairly begun the tanners of England had petitioned Parliament to forbid the importation of iron from America, on the ground that if iron was brought from abroad it would cease to be made at home; and if the manufacture of iron ceased there would be less demand for charcoal, which was used at that time in the process; and if there was less demand for charcoal fewer trees would be cut in the forests; and if fewer trees were cut there would be a decrease in the quantity of bark, upon which the tanners depended in their trade. Thus already the affairs of men were intertangled. After the new forces began to affect the general life every man depended upon every other man, the ends of the earth thenceforth entered into the calculations of the butcher and the baker, and the condition of the crops on the prairies of the West set the rate of wages in India. The adjective "social," which had been connected with the thought of pleasure, became a word of serious import freighted with burdens of responsibility. The new problems which presented themselves were concerned with social difficulties.

The difference was felt in every department of life. Organization became the necessary step toward accomplishment in politics, in business, in religion. The working-men on one side and the employers on the other effected combinations. Up to this time socialism had been but an inoffensive theory, the dream of enthusiasts and visionary folk, resulting in nothing, save a few new monasteries here and there, with but a brief roll of monks, the whole thing coming to an

end before Christmas. But now it changed of a sudden, like a summer shower blown into a black tempest, and threatened civilization. The socialists declared that that old individualism which the sixteenth century had bequeathed to the nineteenth was of the devil, and must end for the sake of society.

It is true that the men who had brought about the new era, the merchants, the manufacturers, and the physicists, were practically unanimous in condemning the new social movement. They stood stoutly for individual liberty. The master of the machine opposed the trade-union; the great teachers of evolution preached sermons against socialism in all the reviews. Nevertheless, for better or worse, the social idea made progress. On it went, and on it goes to-day, the product of conditions that are beyond control; so that we remember the fable of the Arab fisherman who let the genius out of the bottle, and never got him back under his cork; or of the magician's apprentice who read in his master's book of magic a spell which would summon the spirits to bring water, and the spirits came with buckets of water, and buckets of water, and buckets of water, and the student turned over page after page, trying to find another spell to make the spirits stop bringing water, and never found it; or of the Mohammedan who prayed for a little gentle rain upon his farm, and for answer got the whole river Euphrates.

III.

Thus we come into our own day. Powder and printing, and steam and electricity, and the new ideas as to the world and man, enter into all our life. We cannot think without running up against them. These facts and forces determine our present problems.

Of these I purpose to consider first the problem of *indifference*. The new life in the midst of which we live is so wonderfully interesting that we give it all our thoughts and sometimes all our heart. We are beset by the materialism of the shop, of the mill, of the laboratory, and of the mansion. We lose sight of the invisible. Are the new forces against us, then, or for us? Is the new world worse than the old, or better? What are the prevailing influences this way and that?

People are sometimes indifferent to the best by reason of wrong thinking. The new science suggests difficulties of belief. This new fashion of asking questions and going back to causes sometimes issues in perplexity, sometimes in denial. Thus we come to the problem of *doubt*.

More people are made indifferent on account of the conditions under which they live. They lose hope, and losing that, lose everything. The new forces which make some rich leave many poor. The relation of religion to truth is a great question, but the relation of religion to life stands by the side of it. What has the church to do with the tenement-house? This brings us into the problem of *poverty*.

Poverty needs for its amendment something more than charity. The causes of it must be discovered and removed. These are partly industrial, having to do with hours and wages; partly ethical, having to do with sin; and partly physical, arising out of environment. Thus we are confronted by three problems more—the problem of *labor*, the problem of *moral reform*, and the problem of the *city*.

In the presence of these problems, what is the Christian religion doing? Much and little. In this day of social forces, when it is seen in almost every department of life that strength does not consist in stoutness of muscle, but in concerted action, when the great tasks are undertaken "one and all," and are accomplished because men lift together, religion is hindered in the work that it ought to do in establishing the kingdom of God by our unhappy divisions. The last of the problems is the problem of the *divided church*.

INDIFFERENCE.

THE great problem is, how to make the indifferent different.

It is for this that churches and law courts, prophets, judges, and reformers exist. In the ideal city, as St. John saw it, there was no state-house dome and no church tower, because in heaven righteousness and holiness will be the universal rule of life, and ministers and lawyers will be without occupation. But here and now the chief task is to change men as they are into men as they ought to be, beginning with ourselves. The initial need, therefore, is a right standard by which the personal ideal may be set and success may be measured. Indifference may be defined as whatsoever tends to lower that standard or to make men turn their faces in some other direction.

I.

Accordingly, the first thing to do is to determine what is the best possession of man. The question is not a difficult one. It is hard enough, indeed, to shape one's life so as to agree with the answer, but the an-

swer itself is plain as the shining sun, and everybody sees it. The supreme thing is character.

Some, it is true, lay great emphasis on faith. They appeal to the New Testament, wherein faith is set forth as essential to right living; but the faith which is there taught includes character and is declared to be of no avail without it. Faith is related to character as the seed is related to the plant. It is of no account and dead unless it grows up into character. Good works are the test and the evidence of it. It is that in the heart of a man which enables him to recognize the ideal and compels him to follow it.

Thus it differs from the church creed as steam differs from the machine, as the soul differs from the body. Philosophers and churchmen in all ages have exalted theology; they have been interested in it as an opportunity for intellectual exercise and as a convenient test of institutional loyalty. Theology has thus been bound up, sometimes with mathematics, sometimes with the regimental drill book. It has been taken out of its relation to religion, and has missed its right relation even to truth; for when theology is studied apart from the needs of man an essential factor is lost out of the problem. It must begin with man; it must be kept close to life; it must have the service of man as its chief purpose; it must minister to character.

Other people hold that the best possession of man is not faith, but money; they set small store by faith, and care little for invisible treasure up above. They want their treasure within reach, so that it can be

counted, drawn by check, and spent to-day and to-morrow. To buy and sell, to get gain, to live in comfort, is the larger part of life. They are not attracted by another world, in which, so they are told, there will be no markets and no mills. In such a world they would be without occupation; they prefer this. A sufficient heaven, in their judgment, will be attained so soon as we can settle certain vexed questions touching material welfare—problems of wages, of production and distribution, of sanitation, and of satisfactory housing. A stout roof, a full larder, two suits of clothes, and money in the bank ought, in their judgment, to satisfy even the saints. The queen of sciences is political economy.

But economics, like theology, is of little use, except for the sake of character. A world of comfortable animals will hardly meet our ideal of the millennium. Theology will not make men good and economics will not content them. "All the finance ministers and upholsterers and confectioners of modern Europe cannot, with all their arts," as Carlyle reminds us, "make one shoeblack happy, for even the shoeblack has a soul." All problems, therefore, theological or social, must begin and end with character. Thus the initial difficulty is indifference. Before any problem can be solved the student must have a right understanding of the value of the factors. If he thinks that ten is a larger number than a hundred, or that it makes little difference whether ciphers are placed on the right hand of the unit or on the left, he will get but a foolish and mistaken answer. Indifference implies a

wrong estimate of value; it means a false standard of success.

St. John said flatly that he would rather have people bad than indifferent. He wanted the Laodiceans to be hot, to be on fire with zeal and love; but he declared that he would prefer them to be cold rather than lukewarm. Most people who have tried to make their fellow-citizens better or wiser have found out what that means. The most formidable obstruction in the way of social amendment is not hostility nor vice nor the undisguised devil, but indifference. The reformer is disheartened not because some people hate him, but because most people do not care. The kingdom of God is kept back by respectable people who live in six-roomed houses and have no dread of the policeman, but are simply indifferent to the best interests of the community.

I purpose, therefore, to consider certain tendencies toward indifference which are to be found, some of them in human nature, and others in the conditions of this present time.

II.

Indifference is sometimes in the will. Men and women know what they ought to do, but they wait for somebody else to do it. There is an indifference which is akin to that of the priest who went by on the other side. There is also an indifference which is like that of the Levite, who went over to the wounded man, and looked at him, and got the particulars, and

asked such sociological questions as he could think of, and listened patiently while the man stated his pitiable case, and was really sorry for him for a few minutes,—like people at meetings of charitable societies,—and then passed by on the other side.

At the day of judgment there will be a great many surprised people, because there are mistaken folk on every street in the town who think that respectability is the same thing as religion, while, in truth, respectability, by which we approve ourselves to our neighbors, and religion, by which we approve ourselves to God, are quite different. Most religious people are respectable, but a great many respectable people are not religious. There is a difference between the two conditions, like the difference between a cord of wood and a tree. Some people would be much nearer to the kingdom of heaven if they were not so respectable, for their respectability conceals them from themselves.

Character is a positive quality. To abstain from evil is but a small part of it. The Christian test of character is the proportion between accomplishment and opportunity. The rich man in the parable awakes in torments not by reason of any bad thing that he ever did. He had money and lived pleasantly, but there was no sin in that. The fault in him, on account of which he went into punishment, was that he had a chance to do good and did not do it. He saw the poor man on his door-step, and was indifferent.

Sometimes indifference is not so much in the will as in the eyes. It is either a defect in the sense of

perspective, or it is a dullness of mental and spiritual sight which hinders recognition.

The trouble with some people is that they see things out of proportion. The large looks small, while dwarfs are mistaken for giants. Indeed, to most the concrete seems greater than the abstract, the particular is more real than the universal, the visible makes more impression than the invisible, and the present appears bigger than the future. There is a relation, for example, between a duty and a dollar which is fixed and unalterable. There is a difference between them in spiritual magnitude like the difference between a lantern and a sun. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that there are persons in whose eyes the duty looks the smaller of the two. Indeed, it is plainly possible to hold a round dollar in the line of vision so as to blot out of sight the entire universe.

Whoever is able to see things in their right relations, to distinguish between the important and the less important, to know what should come first and what should follow, to paint the foreground of the picture so that it shall stand out from the background, is in possession of one of the supreme secrets. Success has been defined, in homely phrase, as the art of never spending five-dollar time on fifty-cent jobs. That is the whole matter in one sentence.

It is bad enough to see things in a false perspective; some people do not see some things at all, which is still worse. Our perceptions of the world about us are limited at best by the small number of our senses. The senses may be counted upon the fingers of one

hand. It would be the height of impertinence to imagine that nothing exists which is not thus perceived. A sixth sense would no doubt reveal wonders and beauties and delights which surround us all our lives, as the wealth of color surrounds the man who cannot see. A seventh sense would give us the experience of the prophet's servant, who opened his eyes wider than he had ever opened them before, and behold, the hosts of God were encamped on the brown hills. The most sensitive of us, with quickest ear and surest sight, probably misses a great deal of the glory of the world. Even the senses that we have are kept within close limits. The birds hear sounds which are too fine for our ear. When the vibration reaches a certain measure in either bass or treble there comes what we call silence, but it is really deafness; the sound goes on, but we can no further follow it. The same law holds in our apprehension of the invisible. The mind is not the measure of truth. There are whole ranges of being in the midst of which the wisest philosopher wanders with blind eyes, catching only dim, perplexing glimpses of uncertain outlines. We follow the adjectives "infinite" and "eternal" into these regions of mystery, and come back and say that they lead into a place of confusion; but really the confusion is all in our own minds. It is as if we were to look at a printed page across a room and say that the page is all a blur. The page is clear enough; the blur is caused by the imperfection of our sight.

It seems beyond belief that there should be any who do not care for art, for music, or for books; but

men and women pass our houses every day for whom these things have no interest whatsoever. They are indifferent to them; they do not recognize them. Wherever Jesus went this difference immediately showed itself among the people who gathered about him. Some listened to his words and heard the voice of God. A great many others listened and turned away quite unimpressed, getting nothing. When they thought over the day, they remembered their three meals, and the price of fish, and their luck or ill luck at their nets, and the idle things that this, that, or the other idle fellow foolishly said; but Jesus of Nazareth had gone out of their minds.

This must be taken into account in any analysis of indifference. There is a temperamental indifference, a spiritual impediment of sight, by reason of which one may come into the presence of the most beautiful picture and see nothing, or within hearing of the most exquisite music and hear nothing, or into a service whence those who are next him go away with a blessing from God and are better for it all the week, while he goes away looking at his watch. When the shah of Persia was in London they took him to hear Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. During the tuning of the orchestra he was delighted; he listened eagerly to that babel of strident noises and pronounced it the best music that he had heard since he left Persia; but when the symphony began, when the great hall was filled with the celestial harmony, the shah sat uneasy in his seat and was glad when it was over.

It is evident—human nature tending thus toward

indifference, weak in will and dim in sight, sometimes seeing things askew and sometimes seeing not at all—it is evident that there must be a great many indifferent. It is easy, however, to exaggerate the number and to talk like Ruskin—as if we and a few other like-minded enthusiastic people stand in a narrow circle of bright light, beyond which the whole world lies in darkness.

A common way of measuring indifference is to add up the number of people in the town, and to write under it the number of persons who appeared in church on the last fair Sunday, and to take the difference as a statement of the amount of indifference. There must be a fallacy, however, in that argument, because everybody knows that some of the people who do not go to church are more religious than some who go.

There are a great many reasons for staying away from church. They do not, for the most part, impress me as being particularly good reasons, but they do unmistakably commend themselves to the consciences of some excellent people, and they make it impossible to say accurately that absence from church is a sure sign of indifference to the invisible.

Some are absent by reason of the shortcomings of the church. The fault is sometimes of the members and sometimes of the minister.

That is surely a hard test of religion which is put upon the man who sits at the end of the seat and watches his neighbor coming down the aisle with the alms-basin, who since last Sunday has overreached

him in business. It is not easy for such a man to recite that article of the Apostles' Creed in which the church is defined as the "communion of saints." It takes a great deal of ingenious exegesis to make that out. That man will probably stay at home. You may remind him that the church must always contain some admixture of imperfection so long as human beings are admitted to its membership, and that the discovery of unfit soldiers in the army of the militant church ought to be an argument for better men to come in and help in the good fight. But he will not often be persuaded; he likes almost everything in the Christian religion—except the Christians.

A good many working-people never go to church. Some, indeed, stay away because they have lost interest in religion. Their hard lives, the weariness of their heavy burdens, their poverty, and the temptations which encompass them have hardened their hearts. More of them, however, stay away because they have lost confidence in the church. They believe in God; they believe in Jesus Christ; they put his picture on the walls of their meeting-places, and write his title underneath, "the Friend of the working-man;" but they distrust the church. The church is on the other side. It is attended by the employer and the capitalist and the landlord. The people who go to it wear fine clothes cut after a pattern which is out of keeping with the coats and skirts of the men and women who earn days' wages. They would have an uncomfortable feeling in the midst of all this finery. There is no doubt, I suppose, but that people are kept

away from service by the cloaks and bonnets of the well-to-do. The look of the place is enough. The handsome cushions and the soft carpets were not meant for the poor. The seats too, for the most part, have been bought and paid for. The man with the gold ring, in spite of the hard sermon which St. James preached at him, owns them all. The working-man says that he owns even the minister. The church, he declares, is subsidized by the rich; they pay the salaries, and the preacher has them in mind when he prepares his sermon. The working-man is often mistaken; the minister is on his side, and more of the people are with him than he thinks. The religion to whose preaching the common people listened gladly, whose strength was in the devotion of the poor, is far enough away from Christ's ideal still, and if he came again he would have to speak the same stern words that he spoke before to those who sit to-day in the seats of the Pharisees; but the church confesses its sins. More and more it holds out hands of invitation to the people, and prays for wisdom to know what to do. It is true that a labor leader who should join the church would lose his place among his fellows before the end of the week, but that will not be true forever.

Other people who stay away from church are disappointed in the minister. What they ask of the church is spiritual help; they enter hoping to come more consciously into the presence of God, and desiring to be made stronger against the manifold temptations of the week, and they do not get what they want. The service does not suit them; it is too formal, too

elaborate; they are distracted rather than uplifted by it. Or else the fault is in the sermon; it does not touch them. Sometimes they do not agree with what the preacher says; much more often they are not interested; they show their mind by the silent criticism of sleep. So they go out and stay out. They are, some of them, like people who have tried all the physicians in the town, and have found them to be of no avail, and have therefore determined to doctor themselves—seldom, it must be confessed, with advantage to their health.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the preachers have the tongues of men more often than the tongues of angels. There are sermons which do not profit and services which hinder devotion; though even here one may well keep in mind George Herbert's wise suggestion, "When all want sense God takes a text and preacheth patience." Nevertheless, the fault is often in the hearer. It may be remembered that St. Paul himself was little accounted of by some of the congregation at Corinth, who did not hesitate to say that, though his letters were weighty and powerful, his bodily presence was weak and his speech simply contemptible.

Besides those people who are kept away by the shortcomings, real or imagined, of the church, there are others who abide at home on account of an individualistic disposition.

The first effect of individualism, when it entered anew into religion in the sixteenth century, was to create division. Great companies of people immediately

abandoned the church of their fathers and set up religious societies which they liked better. It was maintained that the purpose of the church is to minister to the individual, and that when the individual is not altogether satisfied he may properly go out and either find or build a church which shall please him in every particular. The result was a great amount of division and subdivision. Sects were multiplied by sects. "Controversies over doctrine, controversies over administration or discipline, controversies over moral questions, controversies of a personal character," were built up into walls of separation. These divisions continue into this present, and the individualistic spirit which was behind them is still strong.

Evidently the logical conclusion of the theory would be one man, one church. And in the case of some excellent people who stay at home on Sunday that conclusion has been practically reached. It would be a mistake to set down these people as indifferent; they are sorely tempted to indifference, and sometimes they fall into the snare; but their separation from their brethren is due to their great interest, growing into partisan prejudice. They would attend church with joy if they could find one which exactly suited them. Every new sect attracts a crowd of these religionists, who for a time receive the word with joy, sitting on the front seats.

To these must be added the devout and gentle company of the mystics, who seek quiet and prefer to be by themselves. They complain that the church roof shuts out the sky; they find the peace of God outside;

they belong, like Thoreau, to the Church of the Sunday Walkers.

Others there are who stay away because they cannot say the creed. That which is taught in church—they would give anything if they could believe it, if they could get back into the consolation and the strength and the peace of the old faith; but that seems past and gone, and they walk in the dark.

These various people who for one or other of these reasons, small or great, are out of the organization of religion suffer inevitable loss. Thus Arnold Toynbee writes in a letter: "During the past week I have been much interested in the subject of the 'church and the age,' and questions long dormant in my mind have started into activity once more. It seems true that an immense spiritual destitution exists among that large body of educated men and women who have parted from the old theology and yet retain a religious attitude toward life and the world. Their communion is lost, and their worship; nothing is left but an uncertain, feeble, personal ritual which barely maintains alive in them a consciousness of the true significance and relative importance of the events of life. The cares of this life hurry them away from God; no quiet intervals of meditation and contemplation remain to them; for the forms which preserved them, in spite of apathy and haste, the decent opportunities of prayer and worship in the old days of their communion, have lost their significance. It is very hard for the purest and most earnest of those who are immersed in the work of the world, or the deep, exact-

ing problems of the intellectual life, to retain their grasp in isolation of a religion which would be always present to them if they belonged to a communion, but which they seem hardly to have energy to seek out with deliberation and effort when abandoned and alone." Nevertheless, we may not count even these unbelievers indiscriminately among the number of the indifferent.

Indeed, I like to believe that the world is in the main a good world, and is every year becoming better. Professor Norton wisely warns us against that blind and dangerous optimism which looks with complacency upon the evils that beset our life, believing that somehow, in some lucky way, everything will come out all right. And it were truly a vicious thing to preach peace where there is no peace. But surely, after all these many Christian centuries, after all the deeds and words of saints and heroes, with God over the world and so many good people in it, one might expect some virtue and some measure of improvement. We are not descending into the great bad.

May it not be said that the present sense of general wrong, the complaint that we make about the bad world, and the emphasis that we put upon the fact of indifference are marks of progress? It is observed that the saint is more keenly aware of his faults than the sinner, and that the wise man knows how little he knows better than anybody else in the neighborhood, and that the platform of the "done," as Canon Barnett says, is but a standing-place from which to see the "vast undone." As we ourselves come to have higher

ideals, the number of those who are indifferent to them necessarily increases, but the increase is only relative.

The world is growing better. The Christian religion has not been in it all this time for nothing. It is not in vain that powder and printing and steam and electricity have turned up the race of man as the plow turns up the earth. The Pharisee looked out over the town and saw no good in it. The people, he said, know nothing and are cursed already. But that was the judgment of one who prided himself that he had no acquaintance with the people. Jesus Christ went among them, sat in their houses, and ate at their tables, and made himself one of them; and he declared that they were better than the Pharisees. He did not hesitate to say that they would go into the kingdom of heaven first, leaving a good many Pharisees outside.

Rank after rank, the race has come in sight. At first there was only the aristocracy and the masses, when Plato said, "Nature has made neither boot-makers nor blacksmiths; such occupations degrade the people engaged in them, miserable mercenaries excluded by their very position from political rights;" and Aristotle agreed with him: "In the state which is best governed the citizens . . . must not lead the life of mechanics or tradesmen, for such a life is ignoble and inimical to virtue."

By and by, with powder and printing, the situation changed and society was divided into the aristocracy and the mercantile middle class on one side, and the masses on the other.

Then, with steam and electricity, came still another social change, and the aristocracy with the mercantile and industrial middle class stood upon one side, and the masses on the other.

And now the masses are ceasing to be masses. We are becoming acquainted with them, and are finding out that, instead of being ignorant and vicious, as we had pharisaically imagined, they are as good as we are, and some of them considerably better. So that the notion that only a few people care for high ideals, and that all others are dully indifferent, is being found to be a great mistake. There is more goodness than we thought. We are the sons of God and have the traits of that high family.

There was never a time when there was so much kindness in the hearts of men, so much sympathy with pain, so much indignation at injustice and oppression, so much honesty of purpose, so much real religion in the world, as there is to-day. Men and women were never so ready to listen to the Christian gospel. People were never before so willing and glad in such great numbers to give themselves for good causes, to enter into the service of humanity, to hold out a helping and fraternal hand to the man who is down. The conventions, the institutions, the phrases, and the formulas of the church do not keep their old place. And it sometimes seems, in consequence, that we are fallen upon evil and indifferent times. But beneath the surface the great heart of the people beats strong and true. And outside church walls the name of Jesus Christ, and the love of him, and the spirit of

his life have hold on those of whom the church knows nothing. The Christian minister who goes about, as his Master went, among the poor, the Christian layman who talks on deep questions with his brother in the office or the mill, finds some error, but more truth, and knows that indifference is not so universal as we think.

And as the matter is considered, and the conditions are better understood, and ignorance is taught by personal acquaintance, we are learning that much which seemed indifference is only lack of opportunity, and wakens into interest when it is touched aright. The "Great American Desert" which was marked on old maps has disappeared; all that it wanted was water.

Temperamentally, by heredity, by what we bring with us into this present life, we differ, so the psychologists say, like instruments of music, as an organ differs from a violin. The range and tone are different, but there is no music in any of us until we are played upon by our environment, by sensation and experience; and such music as there is depends upon these surroundings, as the tune depends upon the player; so that a great many people are like dumb flutes and harps, capable of wonderful things, but waiting for the touch of circumstance. Thus "one boy, found by chance in a back street and brought under fostering influences, is the most artistic copper-worker in London." There is, no doubt, a deal of indifference, but it is much of it the indifference of sleep, and may be aroused.

III.

Nevertheless, there are tendencies at work in our present life which go rather to supplement and fortify than to correct the defects of opportunity and the faults of human nature.

Steam and electricity have tremendously increased the pace of life. Everybody is in a hurry. People have, indeed, been busy since the world began, but never have they rushed ahead in a haste so frantic as in this present. Raphael painted the hours as graceful women, looking out of dreamy eyes, and clad in flowing gowns, wearing wreaths of flowers. To-day the picture must be a snap shot at a midday crowd on a business street in a great city—everybody pushing past his neighbor. St. Martha is the patron of the women, and St. Vitus of the men. Nervous prostration is our characteristic disease. Leisure is a word for whose meaning we consult the dictionary. In the clatter of the train and in the click of the keys at the telegraph office the spirit of the age finds speech.

This new hurry, which came in with the modern inventions and is a quality quite our own, produces, indeed, a certain alertness of mind; it discourages hesitancy and prompts us to immediate decision; it is at its best in business, where it wastes no time, uses no needless words, keeps appointments with accurate punctuality, and crowds into an hour that which would have occupied our ancestors for a week. In the newspaper office it pronounces instantaneous

judgments upon the problems of the planet. But it makes meditation next to impossible.

Thus quietness and reverence and appreciation and the consciousness of the presence of God are hindered. The robust virtues thrive in the face of this brisk wind, but the gentler graces, the sweet refinements and courtesies of cultured living, suffer. It is true that the high ideals are not a range of mountains, but are to be sought in the populated plain, and that we may not get nearer to God by climbing into the church steeple; nevertheless, in order to think we must be still; the vision must be waited for in patience. Intellectual strength is gained by quiet study behind shut doors, secure from interruption, and spiritual strength is renewed when all is still and the soul talks with God.

For the most part, men and women live as in a mill, where the air is filled with the din of engines and the floor shakes beneath the feet. In such a state heaven seems unreal and the ideal very far away. The present, the tangible, the visible, demand entire attention. Men do betake themselves out of it and find time to walk in the green pastures and beside the still waters, but for many that seems impossible. And in the midst of it, in the whirl and tumult of it, men lose the sense of appreciation of the other side of life. Poetry and machinery, the gaining of the world and the saving of the soul, seem incompatible. It is like reading Plato and playing foot-ball at the same time.

Together with this characteristic haste, a certain condition of unrest prevails among us. We move

about from place to place in ways unprecedented. That old unquiet spirit which stirred our remote ancestors when they dwelt in central Asia, and urged them ever on into the west, is still strong in our hearts. The railway-carriages are full of people night and day, without end, journeying from town to town. The houses that we live in are, for the most part, but temporary structures, built for the present generation, and garnished with notices of "To Let" and "For Sale." An increasing multitude of people live at a distance from the place in which they were brought up. The tenements, the hotels, and the boarding-houses shelter great numbers who are thus separated from home influences; their children miss not only the quiet environment of the home and the garden, but the life of the family.

The effect of this migratory and unsettled manner of living cannot well be counted up in statistics, but it must be considerable. There is a loss of steadiness and constancy and of the help of custom and tradition. Public opinion, which is so strong a corrective in the quiet neighborhood, loses its best hold upon these dwellers in tents who are here to-day and off to-morrow. They do not live in the sight of their friends, as their fathers did. A new spirit of independence, which in some cases amounts to a revolt against established institutions and in most begets a selfish irresponsibility, comes with these frequent changes. And, unfortunately, the tribe of Ishmael grows faster than the tribe of Esau.

Under these conditions people miss their right re-

lation to the church and to the town. It is observed that immigrants settling in a new country show a marked individualistic disposition, and are apt to depart from the good habits in which they were brought up. At home they went to church every Sunday, but somehow on the voyage over they lost their prayer-books.

The constant change of abode and scene, and the new variety which comes with our new manners, keep the mind busy with the outsides of things. The daily newspaper, with its brief paragraphs, its distracting head-lines, its farrago of information, its tidings good and bad and great and small, contributes to confirm the habit of desultory thinking. One moment we attend to this and the next to that, thinking nothing through. Some people live after the fashion of the personally conducted, who give an hour to the British Museum, and another hour to Westminster Abbey; and to whom in the picture-gallery the guide says, "This is the 'Holy Family,' by Murillo," and all the heads are turned that way, "and this is Leonardo's 'Mona Lisa,'" and they all look promptly in the new direction. The consequence is that the same calamity overtakes the mind as is brought upon the body by ill-assorted and undigested food. Such folk are no more fit for serious thinking than a sick man is for gymnastic exercise. Thus it sometimes happens that, with the best intentions, with excellent aspirations, people continue on the lower levels and are really indifferent to the best, because they consent to the temptations of this restless time. The malady is, indeed,

an old one. There were those a good while ago who were "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." But the unsettled state in which we live aggravates it.

The new forces, thus bringing in a new haste and a new unrest, induce also a practical disposition which is equally characteristic of our time. It has scant reverence for ideals, reserving its faith for that which it can weigh and measure. It lacks imagination; it sees nothing amiss in the question of the senior wrangler who criticized "Paradise Lost," asking, "What does it prove?" It demands facts and is not easily persuaded that spiritual facts deserve that name.

This utilitarian temper is fortified by the advances of science. The physicist and the mystic cannot happily keep house together. The mathematician and the poet speak different languages. Mr. Darwin, after a long life spent in the diligent pursuit of scientific truth, found himself unable to appreciate Shakespeare. When he tried to read "Hamlet" he went to sleep. The man of science is accustomed to exactness of definition, to precise and accurately ascertained relation of effect to cause, to tests and analyses and formulas such as cannot be applied in picture-galleries, in college settlements, or in prayer-meetings. Science is concerned with matter, and is intent on explaining everything in its own terms; it cannot admit the miraculous, because the miraculous is outside the regular order into which science would bring all life. It endeavors to account for thought as it accounts for sight, and to resolve will into an affection of the nerves.

Under this treatment ideals vanish or remain only as ghosts not yet laid. The past is lightly regarded, since we have discovered the ignorance of our fathers, and the future is altogether uncertain. All questions are open; nothing is finally settled; even the axioms may be disproved to-morrow. And these positions, which philosophers once held in secret, partly because they did not dare to make them known and partly because the people would not have understood them, are now matters of common fame. The doors stand open into the laboratory, and whoever will may enter. Thus the proverb about "a little knowledge" is proved true. The guesses of the wise man are reported as established propositions. People hurry from premise to conclusion. The emphasis of life is put upon the present. The spiritual, if not disproved, is quite uncertain. That which can be seen and handled is the supreme reality.

Many more are confirmed in this valuation of the practical by the new importance which the achievements of steam and electricity have attached to all that side of life. The difference in this respect between the past and the present is like the difference between a sheep farm and a mill. The shepherd of the sheep had time for meditation; he had the sky over him, and all the sights and sounds of nature about him; he could write poetry and invite his soul; but the master of the mill, and the men who work under his direction, must give their entire attention to the mill. All their energy, their interest, their ingenuity, their time, their strength, must go into it.

Within are the importunate engines, and without is the swift current of competition. Thus the mind is occupied with the concerns of the immediate present, and is engaged, for the most part, in ministering to the body. The tasks are necessary and important, that is true; and in the doing of them there is room for much exercise of judgment, patience, fidelity, self-sacrifice, and other Christian virtues; but the tendency is toward materialism.

The fact that so much of this work is done for wages has its influence upon all purposes and aspirations, and sets up a false standard of success. Most men are in business for what they can get out of it; they rise up early, and late take rest, and eat the bread of carefulness in order to make money. The motive is, indeed, redeemed from absolute selfishness by the desire of the worker to get rich not for himself alone, but for the sake of his family. Nevertheless, when the life of the individual is viewed in relation to the general good, it is plain that the shop and the mill are built not for the advantage of society, but for particular gain. The affairs of commerce and of industry are not conducted in the spirit of service, but with the intention of personal profit.

That, in fact, is the strong argument which meets the social reformer. He is told that his fine ideals will not come to life, because they do not take account of human nature. A man must have his wages; he must be assured of a pay-day at the end of the week; and the amount of work he does, and the alacrity with which he does it, will depend on what his work will

bring. The good people who believe in the Sermon on the Mount as containing a description of the social state which we may hope to realize are quite mistaken. "The kind of life which such persons conceive of as desirable is a kind of life for which," as Mr. Mallock admits, "very much may be said; it is capable of being represented, both on its material and its moral side, in picturesque and attractive colors, and many men may from the bottom of their hearts think it preferable to the life of wealth." But he assures us that "the men who think this are not the men to whom the material progress of the world at large has been due. They may include in their number, very possibly, great thinkers and even great scientific discoverers; but they do not include in their number the men who have dragged down science from heaven, and forced it to perform those minute and menial services by which alone the material wealth of the modern world has increased. The electric telegraph and the use of gas for illumination were discovered by philosophers a century before they benefited mankind at large, but the men who applied these two discoveries practically were men who in character and temperament differed entirely from the discoverers." And the inference which Mr. Mallock draws is that industry and commerce and material progress depend on the amount of pay that we can give to enterprising people. They are interested in their own gain, and are indifferent to the general good. The life of all their work is wages.

In addition, therefore, to the indifference which the new advance of science suggests in regard to religion,

there is here an indifference which is bred in business toward the welfare of society.

The meaning of the assertion which is thus made of the purpose of the work of the manufacturer and of the merchant, of the man in the shop and in the mill, is brought out by comparing it with the purpose of the lawyer, the physician, and the minister. It must, indeed, be confessed that the desire of gain is not wholly absent from these professions; even the minister considers his salary; but it is evident that this desire is recognized as a thing of which to be ashamed. The lawyer, unless he is of low standing, does not practise law simply for money; he is intent on justice. The physician is not in pursuit of fees; what he wants is the health of his patient. If he makes a discovery which is for the general good, he is forbidden by all the principles of his profession to keep it to himself; he is bound to publish it abroad; he can secure a patent on it, if he will, and make himself rich, but, so doing, he forfeits his place among his brethren. The minister does not work in proportion to his pay. These men serve the community and not themselves. It is only the man in the shop, in the office, in the market, or in the mill who is willing to avow a selfish purpose, and to say boldly that he is consulting his own welfare, that he cares more for his gains than he does for the good of the neighborhood, and that what he wants is wages.

This "practical" disposition which thus thrives in the world of business has an immediate and adverse effect on character.

It is of prime consequence that we have a true definition of success, for every man has a natural desire to succeed, and sets his face in the direction in which he thinks success is to be found. At a time when the strongest man was most applauded men tried to be strong. When we get the kingdom of heaven fairly established in these parts, and the ideal of Jesus Christ is accepted, who said that he who would save his life must lose it, and that the greatest of all is he who is most efficiently the servant of all, then the spirit of service will be the measure of success. In the meantime there is danger lest the rich man be considered greatest. Wherever that idea is held the chief ambition will be to get riches, for most people take such standards of success as they find in the neighborhood. The material prosperity of the time tends to establish money as the highest good. People want money; some of them will sell all that they have to buy it.

The moral evils which confront our generation, the vices against which we make laws and employ policemen and maintain philanthropic societies, exist and increase not only as the fruit of sin, but as the result of a desire for money. They are so strong that they defy us all, because they are organized upon a business basis, with the devil in the firm. They are kept up because they pay; they are controlled and fostered by people who are in pursuit of riches. The plea of personal liberty which is urged against reforms is nothing else than a plea for the personal liberty of some men to make money at the expense of the health, the morals, and the happiness of the community. It is

idle to say that appetites of thirst and lust demand these evils, and that they exist simply as supply. That is but a part, and a small part, of it. These appetites are deliberately cultivated; people are intentionally degraded, sin is diligently multiplied, temptation is attractively advertised, custom is sought by agents who go out to create the demand, and it is in the way of business that men and women are ruined, body and soul, because there is money in it.

The ills that vex society and threaten the future are rooted in the love of money. Men undersell their neighbors, pay starvation wages, maintain sweat-shops, adulterate goods, bribe and are bribed, lie and cheat and steal and commit murder, for love of money. Rents are collected from unsanitary tenements, which fester in the slums and breed disease and vice, for desire of money. Newspapers print matter which lowers the moral tone of the community, because it sells. Plays are presented in the theater which corrupt the mind and act as ambassadors to sin; books are written and printed and sold which appeal to all that is worst in human nature, and the authors and publishers and booksellers know it; pictures are made which insult both art and decency—in order to make money. Genius stands in the market-place, and the soul is for sale. This is the logical outcome of the "practical" theory of life. It is the natural result of a false standard of success. The doctrine that the work is for the sake of the wages ends in this.

The wealth which is thus earned, even though it be earned honestly, is not likely to be administered with

a strong sense of social responsibility. It was gained in disregard of the good of the people, and it will be spent in like manner, for selfish display, for idle luxury, for things which do not profit. The owner of it will not be moved by the spirit of stewardship. This is the inevitable tendency. There are exceptions. There is a great deal of good Christianity in the world residing in handsome houses; there is much consecrated wealth which was fairly earned with clean hands, and which is at the service of all good causes in the church and in the city; but there is more wealth which is unacquainted with responsibility and which takes no part in social betterment, except to hinder it. The kingdom of heaven of which Jesus spoke was meant to be established here, and was to be realized not in the church only, but in a Christian society, in a perfected social state; and what he said about the difficulty of rich men getting into it is true to-day; for the condition of franchise in that kingdom is the possession of the spirit of service, and the service of self must of necessity interfere with the service of society. Wealth teaches materialism, and materialism is an atmosphere in which ideals cannot live. Holy Scripture and history and individual experience join in the petition of the Litany: "In all time of our prosperity, good Lord, deliver us."

IV.

For the correction and amendment of these strong tendencies of human nature and of this present time we must look to the school and to the church.

The right purpose of the school is to be a preparation for intelligent and righteous living; that is what education properly implies. The best that is in the child is to be discovered and brought out and strengthened. The school is to be a bulwark against indifference; it is to send out men and women who shall be so profoundly interested in all that is worth knowing in this remarkable life in which they are to take their part, and so alert with plans and aspirations, that indifference shall be impossible.

We pay the school tax not because we attach such grave importance to an acquaintance with spelling and geography and figures, for we remember that the most cultured nation that has ever lived could neither read nor write: the Greeks had no books in their houses. What we want is enlightened citizenship. The school is built in order that year by year, as the nation grows, it may grow better; it must give us not only information, but ideals.

Thus Mr. Alcott began his school by asking each child, "What did you come here for?" After it was generally agreed that the children came to school to learn, the next question asked was, "To learn what?" A good deal of discussion among the boys and girls presently produced the answer, "To learn to behave well." That is the heart of the whole matter; that is what we ask of the public school; it is to be a training-place for such intelligent, thoughtful, and profitable behavior as befits the welfare of a republic.

The tendencies of the present time affect all education. Haste and unrest and practicality teach in the

school and belong to the college faculty; it is inevitable. We may regret in vain the fair quadrangles of Oxford, set behind fragrant hedges and walls green with ivy, where men read Homer, looking now at the page and now at the shadows of tower and turret on the grass, or "where one walks at night, and listens to the wind in the trees, and weaves the stars into the web of one's thoughts." That is of the past.

Nevertheless, the school is not a place for the instruction of apprentices in the art of making money; nor is it a machine the purpose of which is to convert the largest possible number of text-books in the shortest possible time into the most accurate examination-papers. To enrich life is the work of the school now more than ever. To teach behavior is its mission. Only by sending out citizens who shall know how to take their helpful part in the progress of the state can the school justify its place in the nation and meet its present opportunity. And that can be accomplished, not by the training of the mind only, but by making the future citizens acquainted with the great deeds and good words of the past, by accustoming them to the society of saints and heroes, by putting more emphasis on literature and history, by teaching how a right life is to be lived in the midst of the responsibilities and the temptations of the present day, and thus making recruits for the service of God and of our fellow-men.

So with the church. The church is no longer open to the charge of otherworldliness. It is understood to-day that religion is meant to touch the whole cir-

cle of man's life, that it is concerned in everything which affects the character and the happiness of man, and that it stands in a direct and vital relation to every honest human interest, to the whole man, to the body and the mind as well as to the heart. The purpose is to get hold of man, if not in one way, then in another. It is remembered that Jesus sent his ministers from the fishing-nets of the Lake of Galilee into the deep sea of the great world to catch men. Some will be caught by a prayer-meeting, others by a smoking concert. Any way to catch men, any way to help anybody, is the motto of the working church.

That is all good. The theory is true, and the purpose is high and right and Christian. The church has sometimes stood apart from common life; it has built a wall between the sacred and the secular, and has made a mistaken difference between Sunday and Monday, and has been content with a small and narrow jurisdiction; it has gone on week after week, counting the fish already caught and adding no new ones; it has preached the gospel to the saints, and given the devil his own way with the sinners. To get to heaven, instead of establishing heaven here and now, has too often been the Christian motive.

Against this the parish house, with its manifold activities, the classes in German and in stenography, the church tea and the free reading-room and the magic lantern and the instruction in athletics, are protests. Our good ancestors, who objected so stoutly to the introduction of the organ and the stove into the meeting-house, would no doubt be amazed to see

some of the things that have followed in their train; yet these new agencies help to make religion real; they represent "essential elements," as Dr. Gladden says, "in the development and manifestation of the Christian life; they are offered because the church has gained a new conception of what Christ meant when he said, 'I came to save the world.'"

What we want of the church, however, above all else, in this time of hurry and unrest and over-emphasizing of the practical, is inspiration.

The church has been set forth again and again as an organization, but in the mind of Jesus Christ it is rather an influence. The main thing at which he aims is the advancement of the Christian idea of life; for the prosperity and power of the church, aside from that, he cares nothing. The church exists not to rule the world, not to do the work of the world, not to improve the mind of the world, but to help the world to rule itself in the spirit of Jesus Christ, and to do its work in his name and in his way.

There was a day when the church administered the charities of the people, and carried on the hospitals and conducted the schools; but it was not for these purposes that its ministers were sent. The ideal is that these things shall be done not by the church, nor even necessarily in the name of the church, but by people who have been inspired by the church, who have gone out from the sermon or the sacrament with a great longing to do something for the love of Jesus, and who in moments of perplexity and doubt go back for light and hope and strength.

In the parable of the leaven the yeast was put into the meal until the whole was leavened, not until the whole was *leaven*. The yeast has answered its right purpose when nobody can taste it in the bread. The church, like the individual, must lose its life in order to gain it. There is something better than a theater in a church, and that is a theater outside of the church which is owned and managed by Christian people upon Christian principles. So with the reading-room and the gymnasium and the billiard-table, and most of the other new appurtenances to the Christian religion. The church does well to set this fine example of the sanctifying of common life, but the sooner the Christian minister gets somebody else to do the work, the better. His place is to bring us inspiration; his work is spiritual. The apostles set the right example when they declined any longer to serve tables, and determined to give themselves wholly to prayer and the ministry of the Word. St. Paul touched the heart of it when he resolved to know nothing among his people, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Thus shall the church give its best aid to the solution of the problem of indifference.

I have touched, after all, only the surface of the subject. A certain way of thinking and a certain way of living are at the heart of it. I purpose, therefore, to consider the problem of *doubt* and the problem of *poverty*.

DOUBT.

DOUBT is sometimes good and sometimes bad. When it is good it keeps men from believing error; when it is bad it keeps them from believing truth.

I.

The good doubt is a dissatisfaction with things as they are, in consequence of a vision of things as they ought to be.

Even when that which is called in question is right and true, dissent may be nearer to the kingdom of God than mere assent; for the unintelligent and unthinking recitation of a church creed is not an act of faith. Somebody in the middle ages invented an ingenious form of prayer; it consisted in a reverent rehearsal of the letters of the alphabet, at the end of which the suppliant made petition that the good Lord, who out of these six and twenty letters had framed the missal and the breviary, would kindly take them and construct such devotions as might please him, *In Nomine Domini. Amen.* That was not prayer, but it came as near to it as some recitation of orthodox formularies comes to faith. It were sometimes as

well to recite the multiplication table; it would mean as much.

Dissent is at least an evidence of interest; it signifies that some thought has been given to the statement which is doubted; and it is therefore a much more hopeful quality than passive acceptance. For honest thinking is a process which, if persisted in, will lead presently to the truth itself; while passive acceptance, which deceives people into the idea that they have the truth when really they have no conception of it, leads nowhere and finds its best illustration in those mistaken folk who are everlastingly blind, because they say, "We see."

When the doubt concerns that which is neither right nor true its goodness is plain enough; it is essential to progress. Conservatism is an admirable and necessary element in our affairs; without it we would go off at tangents into all manner of vagaries. It is the centripetal force which holds our centrifugal enthusiasms properly in check. Conservatism, however, is in constant need of correction, because it insists that things as they are—or things as they were—ought to remain unchanged; but in this world things cannot remain unchanged and live. As a matter of fact, change goes on unceasingly. The adjustment, say, is at this moment right between man and the conditions which minister to him; but the next moment man, or the conditions, or both, have changed, and to insist upon that previous adjustment is to hinder progress.

Thus Jesus came preaching dissatisfaction. His first

utterance was, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." He called in question the excellence both of the individual and of society. The kingdom of heaven, he said, is not here yet. They who are contented with the present conditions, and who teach that they ought to have the obedience and the approval of all people, and ought to go on unchanged forever, are quite mistaken. As for the individual, he cannot so much as set his foot within the kingdom of heaven until he has undergone a process of change so thorough and complete that it is equivalent to being born again. Jesus summoned men to examine both themselves and the society in which they lived. He taught the duty of asking questions; therefore the churchmen called him a blasphemer and the statesmen accused him of stirring up sedition. All the conservative forces of the time were arrayed against him. The apostles followed his example, and were described as men who were trying to turn the whole world upside down. Christianity appeared not only as a new kind of faith, but as a new kind of doubt.

The attempt has been made again and again to constitute the church upon a basis of faith, leaving no room for doubt. The doubter has been given over to the rack and the stake here and to eternal fire hereafter. Absolute uniformity has been insisted on, and every departure from it to right or left has been visited with punishment. It has been taught that in the state all people must agree with the prince, and in the church with the priest. That has distinctly failed. In politics it is called despotism, and in religion intol-

erance; it is one of the things that cannot go on, as the prince and the priest began to find out when the first printed book and the first gun appeared. It is absolutely essential in human affairs that accounts be audited. There must be an asking of questions and a return of fair and reasonable answers. Faith without the guidance of doubt goes astray.

Here we come upon two ancient discussions touching the position of honest doubt in religion; one of them relates to the right of private judgment, the other to the ethics of doctrinal subscription.

The right of private judgment is denied by those who vest the supreme right in authority. We ought, they say, to believe what we are told; and, indeed, we do that in regard to many things. We start in life with a large capital, which the experience and research of the past have put to our credit in the bank, and this we take without examination, fully believing that all that looks like gold is gold. Much of it is; some of it we test afterward and find to be counterfeit; but at first we take it all, and are thus supplied with a great fund of information, custom, tradition, and doctrine touching all sides of life, by virtue of which we stand in our proper place as citizens of this present excellent century, and not as untaught savages ignorant of the arts of living. We are thus older than our ancestors and wiser in proportion. The difference in creed and in conduct between Massachusetts and Ashanti is not a difference which we have worked out for our own selves, but which is due to that inheritance of belief and behavior which, for the most part,

we have simply taken on authority. Thus and thus were we taught. The larger part of our present information has come to us from this source. The common possessions of knowledge in science and in geography are not the result either of experiment or of exploration. These things we know, because those who are wiser than we are have told us. So that they are right who assert for authority a great place in our life.

To this must be added the difficulty of accurate argument. The time comes when we question some of this information and dispute some of the doctrines which we have been taught. We resolve to decide this matter or that by means of our own independent reasoning; then we discover some of the qualifications for a right judgment. We learn that in order to carry on a valid argument concerning any hard question, especially in religion, we must have ability and knowledge and time and character; we must be able to argue, and, therefore, skilled in logic and fitted to draw accurate conclusions; we must be possessed of all the facts in order that our conclusions may be drawn from proper premises; for most of the blunders of the philosophers have been not in the field of deduction, but in the field of observation. That we may thus accumulate the facts and get the right inferences out of them, we must have time, so that we may give our whole minds to this difficult debate without interruption. And even when the ability, the knowledge, and the time are present, we must still be gifted with that essential quality of character without which our

shrewdest calculations will go for nothing; for it is evident that whoever would adequately judge of the excellence of music must have in him that indefinable something which we call the sense of music, and he who would give a judgment of value touching the beauty of a picture must have the sense of art. In the same way, one who would decide concerning the truth of a doctrine in religion must be much more than a good scholar in Greek or in Hebrew or in archæology, must be much more than an historian or even a philosopher; sometimes even an acquaintance with theology will not be enough. In order to judge of religion one must be religious.

They have, therefore, much upon their side who exalt authority; they can say that in three fourths of life we do not act on private judgment, and that when we do attempt to follow private judgment we are more likely to go wrong than right, because we cannot read the compass.

It is to be noted, however, that there is a wide difference between authority considered as proof and authority considered as force.

The historic creed, for example, was accepted on the authority of certain ecumenical councils, but what the councils did was simply to ascertain that which was commonly believed. Thus and thus, they said, has been the faith of Christians, so far as the oldest and wisest of us know, from the beginning. And the people took it on that basis as being satisfactorily attested. If the councils had sat in secret session, and had thus put forth a declaration, saying, "This is the

faith, exactly as we state it and because we state it, and you are to take our inspired word for it and think no more about it, asking no questions on pain of excommunication," that would have been another matter.

For belief cannot be compelled. Assent may be gained by force, but belief never. There are some truths of such a nature that the simple utterance of them satisfies us. As soon as we hear them we believe. There are other truths which when they are explained to us we accept. Still others, even after explanation, are difficult and beyond our understanding, but we receive them because we have personal confidence in our teacher. If he who is so much wiser than we are is able to receive them we are content. Thus we come into possession of truth by authority, indeed, but not by authority as force; by conviction, by reason, by persuasion of personal confidence, by some kind of satisfactory proof, not by compulsion. We are appealed to for acceptance or rejection; we are approached not as slaves, but as the sons of God, and our decision, either for belief or for denial, has a moral value, because it is the expression of ourselves.

The use of authority as force to suppress honest doubt betokens lack of knowledge of human nature. Doubt is deaf on that side. The proverb of the man convinced against his will is true so universally and eternally that it is the most valid philosophical basis for the doctrine of everlasting punishment. "Must I believe?" cries the honest doubter. "Because if I must I won't!"

Sometimes authority is thus mistakenly invoked as

force on account of a secret fear in the hearts of the orthodox that authority as proof will not suffice. It is feared that the doubter will not recognize truth when he sees it, and must therefore be violently pulled upon his knees, like an obdurate Protestant at mass. They are aware of the difficulty which besets all argument touching matters in the higher ranges of thought and feeling; they have learned by experience that it is in religion as it is in art or in love: the truth of the doctrine, like the charm of the picture, like the heroism of the hero, must itself appeal directly to the mind and heart. Argument is only the usher by whom we are brought into truth's presence; and they suspect that truth will not sufficiently commend itself.

Or else it is dreaded lest truth under cross-examination may somehow prove to be untrue, the devout believer in this case preferring to treat the creed with a discreet tenderness, as Don Quixote treated his pasteboard helmet, upon which he thought it wise to try no rash experiments. It is, however, a great mistake, as Dr. Holmes has happily said, to regard truth as an invalid, and to think that it ought never to be taken out into the air, except in a closed carriage with a gentleman in a black coat on the box. Indeed, it is written on the same wise page that "error dies of lockjaw if she scratches her finger, while truth gets well though she be run over by a locomotive."

Other people who call upon authority as force are moved thereto by a spirit of impatience; they are themselves so sure of truth that it vexes them to see others in the attitude of hesitation. They have no

sympathy with doubt. An illustration of this temper may be safely found in the Pharisees—of whom we may conveniently say hard things, since they are dead and have left no friends. They believed themselves to have the truth, and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. That they should be in error was beyond the bounds of decent imagination. They had included in their comprehensive formulas not only all the truth that had ever been discovered, but all that might ever be found out hereafter till the end of time. Whatever they did not know was not the truth. Thus Mr. Lowell notes that truth was first discerned at the bottom of a well by one who looked down and saw the reflection of his own face, and thereupon reported not only that truth lay at the bottom of the well, but that she was ever so much better-looking than he had imagined!

Authority as force is summoned against honest doubt by those also who regard the creed as a means of discipline rather than as an expression of faith. The creed is thus considered not in its relation to the truth, but in its relation to the church; it is true not because of its inherent verity, but because it has the imprimatur of the church. To question it is therefore to deny the authority of the church. And the creed is accordingly made use of as a test of loyalty, as an oath of allegiance, and as a means of securing intellectual submission to the church. We are not to ask the question, Is it true? We are to ask, What does the church teach?

Unfortunately, however, the church has erred; she

has taught that which is not true. And the supreme thing in this world over which the God of truth is ruler, and among whose people Jesus Christ came to establish the kingdom of the truth, is not the church, but the truth. To teach the truth is the errand of the church; and it is the experience of all history, and an elemental fact in human nature, that, without the right of free discussion and of private judgment and of untrammelled doubt, the teachers of the church are absolutely certain to make the Word of God of none effect by their tradition.

Nevertheless, in order to the right fulfilment of her mission, the church must state the truth in its essentials briefly and definitely, and must secure that that truth be properly and accurately taught. Thus we come to the debate upon the ethics of doctrinal subscription. The endeavor here is to determine how the balance between the forces of conservatism and of progress, between authority and private judgment, may be best maintained by the teaching church. Honest doubt must be allowed among the laity; can it have any permitted place among the clergy? Are the teachers of the church in intellectual bondage to the church? Is the ordination vow a promise not to think?

Concerning this difficult matter it may properly be said, first, that the church cannot intend to hinder truth. It may, as a matter of fact, obstruct the way of truth, and has, indeed, done so in notorious instances, but this is by mistake, not by intention. The purpose of the church is to further truth.

Truth, however, is major and minor. There is a difference between the statements of the creed and the statements of the books of theologians, like the distinction between the Constitution of the United States and the manifold enactments of Congress. The creed and the Constitution contain fundamental matters, which were discovered and tried and tested long ago, and have by general agreement been put away as sure and settled. They are the accepted standards by which all law and all theology are tested. Upon that ground they demand the allegiance of citizens and Christians.

There is a distinction to be further made between truth and the apprehension of truth. The church is confident that it is in possession of all truth which is essential to spiritual health, and the experience of all the past confirms that confidence. No philosophy, no science, no comparison of other religions, has thus far either added anything to the church's possession of fundamental truth, nor has subtracted from it. It is plain, however, that in the apprehension of this truth, and in the application of it to the life of man, there is endless change. As we grow in knowledge the meanings of truth become more and more visible to us, like the widening landscape as we climb the hill. The landscape was all there and the truth was all there before we began, but we did not see it. God has not changed, but between the campaigns of Joshua and the epistles of St. John man's idea of God has changed greatly. That God made the heaven and the earth was as true in the time of Moses as it is to-day, but

there are thoughts in our minds as we recite the beginning of the creed which would have amazed Moses.

It is, indeed, true that since the apostles' time our advance in spiritual apprehension has been for the most part made by going back; and the fact has been interpreted as a precept and as if God had in some way forbidden men even to try to learn any more religious truth; but the same fact is to be observed in art, which still goes back in reverence and hopeless admiration to Greece. We have done nothing better than the frieze of the Parthenon; no, nor half so good. It is not considered necessary, however, to pass laws forbidding men to improve upon the art of Phidias. It is rightly felt that that may be left to the prompt instructions of experience. Neither is it necessary to enact canons to forbid men to improve upon the theology of Paul; better let them try.

It is to be noted, then, that in two respects, in relation to minor truths not in the creed and in relation to the apprehension even of creedal truth, doctrinal subscription sets no bar to private judgment. Indeed, in most cases the document to which subscription is required, whether by the signing of a name or by the answering of a question, includes the books of Holy Scripture, and it is understood that these are the authorized and accepted text-books of theology; as, for example, in the Episcopal Church, where the minister promises at his ordination that he will be diligent in his study of the Bible, and that he will teach nothing as necessary to eternal salvation but that which he himself shall be persuaded may be con-

cluded and proved by the Scripture ; so that the widest door is open to scholarly and conscientious criticism. The minister further undertakes to drive away from the church all erroneous doctrine contrary to God's Word, and is thereby bound to test all doctrine, and to hold fast only that which is according to the mind of Jesus Christ.

It is to be said, secondly, however, that, in order to the fulfilment of her teaching mission, the church must teach, and teach definitely and with reasonable unanimity. While it is no part of the purpose of the church to hinder truth by forbidding men to think, so also is it no part of its intention to conceal truth behind a cloud of conflicting opinions. The church is therefore right in insisting upon some sort of theological conformity. It may properly require substantial assent to its main positions and sympathy with its general methods ; and the teacher who finds himself in serious disagreement with the church must do what a just judge would do under a like condition of dissent from the Constitution.

At the same time it may rightly be maintained that, in the nature of things, there can be no more than an approximation to intellectual conformity. No man can write an extended document which shall adequately express both his own faith and his neighbor's. If it express his own he shall do well. This is due partly to the nature of truth, which defies definition, and partly to the poverty of language, which at best is but a blundering way of expressing thought. The relation, for example, between the Christian faith and

the Westminster Confession or the Thirty-nine Articles is like the relation between a sunrise as it really is and a sunrise as it is described in technical phrases by a meteorologist. The scientific description may be conscientiously agreed to by the artist and the poet as being true as far as it goes, but the only point in which they three will be heartily in accord will be the general fact that the sun rose.

It follows, therefore, that in regard to details there must be allowance for differences in the point of view, and that as free a scope as is consistent with order must be allowed to individual interpretation. It is, indeed, generally settled, if one may judge by universal custom, that the spirit is to be valued above the letter, and that the creed is best recited by him who has in mind what the creed means. It seems at first thought an evasion of truth to set aside what the creed says in favor of that which we assert the creed to mean, and evidently it is a practice to be pursued with care and a sensitive conscience; but it must be remembered that Jesus Christ, teaching religious truth, meant much more than he said. When he spoke of leaven, and the disciples began to think of yeast, they interpreted him literally; they thought that he meant just what he said, while, in truth, the real meaning lay behind the words.

Thus the creed, declaring the resurrection of the dead, is to be understood as standing, not for the idea which the words literally convey, which we have long since unlearned, but for the doctrine of personal identity after death, which was intended by the framers of

the creed to be therein expressed. They believed, no doubt, that the buried bodies would come up out of the graves; but what they wished to declare was not that, but the great truth of which that was to their minds the symbol, the truth that human personality endures into the life to come.

Doctrinal subscription is therefore a safeguard against theological confusion. It is meant to restrain, but not to forbid, difference of opinion, critical study, and private judgment. It is wrongly understood, and is in contradiction to the right spirit of the Christian religion, and causes more doubt than it cures, when it would prevent the church from "growing with our growing culture and widening with our wider knowledge." True religion has no better friend than good doubt.

II.

Doubt is bad when it establishes error; this it commonly does by reason of some defect in the doubter, either moral or mental.

Some are morally disqualified from the search for truth in consequence of such living as contradicts the commandments and defies the conscience. Obedience and spiritual knowledge go together. It is significant that in the New Testament heresy is counted among the sins of the flesh.

More people, however, miss of truth on account of a disability which is not only moral, but mental, and is the result not of sins of the flesh, but of sins of the spirit. Intellectual truth was rejected in the time of

Socrates, and religious truth in the time of Jesus Christ, by philosophers and theologians and other persons of high respectability. The common people heard Jesus gladly, and sinners believed on him; the doubters belonged to the best society and were prominent members of the church. He said plainly that the worst sin, which sets the widest distance between man and God, is a sin which was never brought to sentence in a court of law—the sin not of the body, but of the mind. He taught a doctrine which amazed the men who heard it, and which to this day has seemed to be beyond the limits of reasonable belief—the doctrine that well-dressed and well-behaved people may actually go to what the New Testament calls hell.

This mental disqualification for truth is the consequence partly of an undue confidence in one's self, and partly of an undue interest in things wholly material. The doubter is either unwilling to consider the truth when it is proposed to him, being sure that whatever he does not know already cannot be true, or else he is incapable of appreciating the truth when he meets it, having dealt so long and diligently with things visible that he has become incapable of seeing the invisible. Thus philosophers and theologians have refused the truth, because it was not written already in their books; and physicists and manufacturers and merchants have missed the truth, because they have accustomed themselves to use the tests of weight and measure, of chemical experiment and of market value, to none of which does truth philosophical and spirit-

ual respond. It is manifestly impossible to see the stars through a microscope.

To these mental factors in the problem of doubt must be added also a distaste for truth which comes from a misleading presentation of it. Error is sometimes the fault of the orthodox. Truth may be stated so dogmatically, so offensively, with such small regard for fundamental facts of human nature, that men turn away from the teacher and refuse his doctrine, because they dislike him. There are people who will affirm that two and two make four in such a tone of voice that we rise up in immediate rebellion and look eagerly for some arithmetical premise wherefrom we may assert that two and two make eight. The devil himself, seeking in the disguise of an angel of light to turn men from the truth, could take no surer course than that which is adopted in all sincerity and good intention by some excellent people who may know a great deal about truth, but who show plainly that they know little about men.

There is also an exaggeration, a disproportion, a lack of right perspective in some teaching which defeats its purpose. The truth appears with a retinue of errors. The preacher is so evidently at fault in matters about which the congregation knows more than he that the whole sermon is discredited. Theology has been brought into contempt by the attacks that theologians have made on science. The pulpit loses the esteem of the people when the preacher is ignorant even of the books of his own profession; so that he is like a physician who is still following the

fashion of his grandfather, who has read nothing for twenty years except the local paper, for whom the whole field of bacteriology is an undiscovered country, and "X rays" suggest calculations in algebra. Intelligent people listen to the parson as he fulminates against evolution and the higher criticism as they listen to the country doctor while he abuses the modern advance in medicine, and their intellectual confidence is gone. Thus doubt is taught in church.

The bad doubt is bad in its results. The reasons that occasion it may deserve the adjective or not; the results deserve it always; for while one may, indeed, steadfastly believe error and deny truth, and yet live so as to be approved of God, the error which is thus believed and the truth which is denied must be but superficial, and must belong rather to formularies and metaphysics than to personal conviction. In this sense it is true that a man may be better than his creed. Theological truth, however, is to be valued in proportion to its closeness to human life. Any doctrine which is remote from common duty, and which has no part in deciding our daily alternatives, may be held or not; it matters little; the controversialists may debate it as they please. But concerning the essentials of the faith "he that believeth not shall be damned"; that is to say, here and now, however it may be in the world to come, the man whose doubt has led him into serious error suffers loss. That is what the phrase means. "He that believeth shall be saved." Saved from what? Saved from his sins. He that believeth not loses that present blessing. It is inevi-

table. It matters much in a man's life whether he believes in God or not, and what he believes about God. The difference between the Turk and the Englishman is not only a difference geographical and racial; it is a difference in creed. It is of tremendous importance what is believed or not believed concerning Jesus Christ, and with what hope or lack of hope we look in the direction of the grave.

While the ill results of doubt in its bearing upon character are logically sure, they are so bound up with modifying influences of environment and survival, so much of the effect of faith remains after faith is gone, that they are sometimes not apparent; but the effects of doubt are manifest enough in its relation to happiness. There are questions which come into all lives, and to which we must get answers, in whose presence doubt is silent. Does God care for me? Does he hear me when I speak? Is the grave a wall or a door? When such questions rise, not as interesting problems in philosophy, but as the utterance of personal and sometimes tragic need, so that the answer determines whether it be day or night, whether we be glad or miserable, then to doubt is to be in darkness and in the deep.

III.

All doubt, good or bad, is quickened to-day not only by the practical materialism which accompanies the progress of the great forces that have created modern business, gathered vast fortunes, and affected

our living and thinking through and through, but also by the influence of the advance in science.

Science enters into the problem of doubt partly by reason of such results of its investigations as seem to contradict the accepted statements of religion, and partly by reason of its method of study, whereby all things whatsoever are subjected to tests and questioning, the process beginning with doubt, and ruling out all evidence except the testimony of fact.

534 The results, for example, of the doctrine of evolution were declared to be adverse to the Christian faith. According to the new teachers, the world was now satisfactorily explained without God, and the analysis of man revealed no soul. The miraculous was said to be a fable and the supernatural as baseless as a dream. Nothing exists but matter. The Christian religion, so these prophets preached in their dogmatic sermons, had already been disproved and was about to disappear out of the memory of rational people. The churches would be turned into lecture-halls and laboratories. Religion would be ancient history. It was confidently affirmed by students of the new phases of science that so absolute is the contradiction between the doctrines of evolution and the doctrines of the Christian creed that whosoever agreed with Darwin and professed himself a theist was a fool, while he who agreed with Darwin and declared himself a Christian was a knave.

These aggressive statements naturally provoked controversy rather than consideration. Men knew by irresistible arguments of intuition that these results

were wrong. They therefore opposed the doctrine from which, the philosopher said, the results proceeded as inferences logically drawn; and that long and bitter discussion followed which lasted during the third quarter of this century, and which fills page after page of the reviews of that time, the great debate between science and religion, like a discussion between poetry and mathematics, carried on, for the most part, between religious people who knew little about science, and scientific people who knew less about religion.

That debate is practically concluded. There are people, indeed, in the back country who do not yet know that the war is over, and there are stout and obstinate irreconcilables on both sides who are of the same opinion still, and a great deal of the doubt of the present day is a survival of that controversy. But it is generally agreed on the part of religion that the doctrine of evolution, rightly understood, is true; and it is generally admitted on the part of science that the results of that doctrine which appeared at first to contradict religion are not, after all, such sure inferences as the enthusiastic students claimed. They announced with confidence and pride that they were but animals, but further search gives them another pedigree. The new doctrine, which seemed to disprove immortality and to make the supernatural absurd, is found to attest the being of God and the destiny of man by arguments stronger than before.

On the other hand, the scientific method has profoundly influenced all study both of the documents and of the doctrines of religion.

The initial word in science to-day is observation. The physicist wants facts, and will be contented only with that which he can verify. The old way was to begin with a general principle, and to deduce therefrom the details of fact which followed in logical procession. That could be done with scarcely more apparatus than was needed for the writing of an essay in philosophy; a table, an ink-pot, a pen and paper, a stool, and a candlestick sufficed. The stock argument was the argument *a priori*. If a stone of a certain weight, being dropped from a certain height, will reach the earth in a certain time, then by the irresistible conclusions of logic a stone of twice that weight, dropped from the same height, will reach the earth in half that time. To-day the student, without opening his logic, goes out and drops two stones, and thereby discovers that nature laughs at logicians.

One result of the scientific method in the study of religious truth is the dismissal of unverified assertion. That old "no trespass" sign, bearing the inscription, "It is written," and set beside the gate of many an attractive field, is taken down or disregarded. The scientific student does not care what is written, except so far as the writing contains evidence of value. The assurance that Calvin or Athanasius held this or that opinion is no longer the closing of the doors of argument, but the opening of them into further discussion. Upon what foundation did the fathers base their statements? From what premises did they deduce their conclusions? When these questions are satisfactorily answered, and such other inquiries as they

may suggest, and thus the real truth at first hand is arrived at, then it will be possible to show how much the opinions of the excellent saints are worth. Gloss upon gloss, comment upon comment, here an interpretation and there an interpretation—thus with stammering tongue has religious truth been taught. When the sermon was over the people knew what the preacher thought concerning the idea of the brethren at Westminster touching Calvin's understanding of Augustine's position in regard to what Paul said of the teaching of Jesus Christ. To-day the preacher goes straight back to the beginning.

As for councils, we have had too much experience of legislative assemblies, political and ecclesiastical, to be able to take their decrees as gospel truth on a mere count of signatures. We must go behind the decrees and read the minutes, and understand the circumstances and conditions, and make the acquaintance of the men, and thus determine whether or not the evidence on which they went is valid.

Even the final sentence which in the middle ages closed the question and decided for the consciences of all obedient people that a certain thing was true, whether it was true or not,—“Rome has spoken, and the matter is ended,”—nothing shows more clearly the difference between that time and this than the way in which that or any other like pronouncement is received to-day. “Rome?” says the scientific student, “who is Rome?” And immediately he sets to work to find out how it happens that this or that official person comes to speak in so orotund a voice.

Thus the past has no longer a pedagogic command over the present. The scholars think that they know more than the teacher; and that is so conspicuously the case in the physical sciences that it is assumed, sometimes with undue rashness, that it is true everywhere, even in theology. This spirit of unending and unsparing interrogation may be regretted; it may be accused, sometimes with reason, of irreverence and vandalism; it may be complained of as unnecessary and unprofitable; nevertheless, it is a fact, and the theologians must take it into account. If the church would commend religious truth to the people of this generation, it must address itself to men in a tongue which they can understand, and in accord with the conditions which determine their thinking. No doctrine is too old, too venerable, too generally believed, or too vital in its consequences to be exempt from question. The articles of the Apostles' Creed must show reason why they shall longer be believed. All things must open to the knock of the questioner, and when the keeper of the house, be he saint or doctor, stands by the door and protests through the wicket that there is no admittance, then the questioner is more than ever determined to get in, because he strongly suspects that the guardian has some private reason for resisting his visit.

Another result of the scientific method is the disregard of consequences. People hold up their hands and say, "But if this or that be proved untrue, then the best of life is lost!" To which the questioner replies, "If this or that be proved untrue, then it is a

lie; and if the house be founded on a lie, the sooner we find it out, the better, that we may move before the storm comes." The scientific student owes allegiance only to the truth.

The habit of arguing, not from causes to results, but from conclusions to premises, is an ancient one, and has served many a good purpose in the past, and may not be altogether set aside. The conclusion proves the premises. A palpably mistaken conclusion may well be evidence of error in the argument. When it appears by logic that the whole is less than the sum of all the parts, it is likely that something is the matter with the logic. The scientific inquirer, however, though he may confess that his observation and his reasoning are not infallible, has at present no patience with people who would put the sentence before the trial and would prescribe beforehand what the experiment must prove.

He is not to be deterred, for instance, from asserting the law of gravitation because he is told—to borrow Professor Sumner's example—that if that law be true, then little tender babies may fall out of fourth-story windows. The law is true, and the mothers of the babies may well take it into account.

Thus the time was, as Professor Huxley reminds us, when the geologist had one eye on fact and the other on the Book of Genesis, and hesitated long before he stated a fact which seemed to differ from the book. To-day he keeps both eyes on fact, and lets the fact and the book settle it between themselves. The time was when the student of the Bible considered the

bearing which his researches might have upon the doctrines of the church, and did his best to discover nothing, or at least to say nothing, which might in any way invalidate the current ideas of the inspiration and inerrancy of Holy Scripture. To-day he finds out all he can, and when he is reasonably sure about it he prints it in a book and leaves to others the task of fitting the theory to the fact.

What is the fact? That is the question which science introduces into the study of religion. If that question ends in doubt, if it leads to the denial of that which we have heretofore believed, then one of three things must be true. (1) The fact is somehow misunderstood, either by reason of ignorance or on account of an estimate determined by a mistaken test, as if one were to decide upon the beauty of a poem by the rules of grammar, or upon the truth of a doctrine in religion by an experiment in chemistry; or in consequence of a misplaced emphasis; or by inversion, as six might be read as nine, with evident mischief in the calculation and error in the conclusion; (2) or else there are other facts which have been left out, as facts of human nature were for a long time overlooked in comparison with facts of matter, and spiritual forces were not counted for as much as physical forces, and conscience was not considered so substantial a verity as heat or sound, and the student failed to see, what Mr. Fiske has pointed out, that the response of the soul is as valid an argument for the objective reality of God as the response of the eye is valid in evidence of the objective reality of light; (3)

or else, the fact and all the facts being fairly understood and thus confronting us, we are mistaken. That may happen. When it does happen he who tells us is our friend. In any case, the supreme thing is the fact. Without refuge behind authority, without fear of consequences, what is the fact?

IV.

With this position the Christian church may well be in accord, not only because true religion has no need to be afraid of truth, but because Christianity is itself historical and appeals to facts.

The Christian religion is not a philosophy; it is founded not upon a book, nor upon a vision, nor upon a dogma, but upon a life; it begins and ends with Jesus Christ. And Jesus Christ is not a formula; he is not a beautiful idea put into a phrase which was true once and adequate to the understanding, but must now be stated over again and stated better; he is not an article in a church creed nor the symbol of a difficult doctrine. He lives and breathes and is of flesh and blood, and stands here on the common ground where we can see him; he takes his place among the saints and heroes of the race, God manifest in man; and what he said and did is written down, and how he lived and died and rose again; and on these facts the Christian faith depends. The right word of the Christian church is still that which was spoken at the beginning to the honest doubter: "Come and see."

Thus to those who are contending with the problem

of doubt we hold out hands of hospitality and brotherhood. The students and the critics, those who are equipped and trained and whose lives are given to the pursuit of truth, those who can take hard questions and think them through to the right answers, are the friends of religion. They may esteem themselves the enemies of faith, and may be so esteemed by those who hold that something else is more divine than truth, but they are on our side. Year by year the rust of error gathers over unused truth; age after age brings its own contribution to the treasury of faith, valuable or not, sometimes true, sometimes only guessed at, sometimes quite mistaken. There is need of testing, need of sifting, and some things must go. Thus doubt does us a service, and in the doing of it the doubter recognizes truth. Many a man, using the reason which God has given us to use, and growing in grace as he has grown in knowledge, his spiritual insight and his intellectual discernment increasing together, has come through doubt into the light and joy and peace and blessed satisfaction of assurance. He both believes and knows. It was the doubter among the apostles who exceeded all the rest in the greatness of his faith. Jesus Christ said, "Come hither, bring your questions and your tests;" and Thomas answered, "My Lord and my God."

And as for those who are not philosophers nor critics, and who have neither the training nor the time for independent study, to these the church suggests the solution of the perplexed apostles, who knew not what to think, and were sure only of this: that Jesus

Christ knew more than they did. "Lord," they said, "to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life."

Thus, after all, we come back to authority, but to the authority which persuades rather than compels us, and which we accept not because we must, but because we will. This would be a hard world for many of us if we had to begin at the beginning of all the problems. We would be poor indeed if we had to earn all our intellectual possessions; we would be ignorant indeed if we knew only that which we ourselves have discovered. The right of discovery is the prerogative of man, but the exercise of it we leave to those who have the strength. Few are the discoverers; the rest of us are quite content to learn and wonder. In spite of our fine theories of intellectual liberty and the prerogatives of man, the world is mostly made up of the plain people,—for whom, Mr. Lincoln said, the good Lord must have a special liking, since he has made so many of them,—and who are busy earning their daily bread. For these the researches of the student are quite impossible, and the problem of doubt, if it must be solved in the interval between supper and bedtime, must go without solution.

What we do, as a matter of fact, is to depend upon the masters. We know a great deal about nature, because we have learned it from wise teachers. It is open to us, using the same good common sense, to know a great deal also about religion. When reason is brought into our relation to the creed as it is into our relation to electricity or mathematics, the problem of doubt will find solution.

We perplex and weary ourselves over the hard places. Day by day, and some days tragically, we demand to know the truths on which our lives depend. Does God care for us, or not? Is there another world where those who are parted here shall meet again, or not? What can we say? The Master will tell us. Jesus Christ stands in religion where no man stands in science. Since he taught in Galilee the world has gone on growing wiser, going to school to Greeks and Romans, and to later masters, German and French and English, passing through revolution after revolution, changing its mind over and over again, discarding old philosophies and learning new ones, leaving the centuries behind. Yet Jesus Christ is still supreme; no word of his has fallen to the ground; and to-day, as we look over the threshold into the next era, we can see the end of our perplexities, our plans, and our desires only in the better following of the counsels that he gave in the beginning.

After we have done our best, after we have found no answer, it would seem but common wisdom to return to him who is the Master in the realm of spiritual truth, and who knew more about man and about pain and about God than we would know though we were to study for a thousand years. We take his word and are content. In him God speaks, and we listen; and as the words are spoken all thought of authority ceases. We know that what he says is true, because the truth itself convinces us; it must be true, for all that is best in us goes out to meet it. The problem of doubt is solved in the word of Jesus Christ.

POVERTY.

It is as hard to define poverty as it is to determine the point at which the few become the many. Most people are rich in comparison with some of their neighbors and poor in comparison with others. In general, however, it may be said with truth that he who works long hours at hard tasks for small pay is poor. And if the element of hope be taken out, so that the man no longer looks upon the day as possibly the threshold of a better morrow, and has no chance, then is he poor indeed; for the real measure of poverty is not bread, but opportunity.

I.

That there is a problem of poverty is at last evident to most people. It is still at such a distance from the lives of some that it is hard for them to realize it; there are no poor in their street. But it is plain to an increasing number that long hours and hard work and small pay are conditions that do not go with good citizenship and are not in the direction of religion; they do not tend to make men.

The poor man's long hours and hard work make it

next to impossible for him to have much in his life besides his constant labor. It is true that the rich man often works twelve hours a day, but his task is full of life and variety and interest and calls out the best that is in him, and he does it not because he must, but because that is the thing which he prefers to do. That makes a mighty difference.

The driver and the horse work the same hours, but the driver looks out over the pleasant country, and gets the fresh breeze in his face, and is intent upon his errand. The poor man's labor is commonly monotonous, often mere drudgery, rarely appeals to his personal interest, and is done for the most part in order to earn his dinner. He gives his day to a master. The time that he has for himself, for the honest joy of life, for the pleasures of his home, for the betterment of his mind, that he may become more of a man and less a beast of burden, is brief indeed. The desire for shorter hours is a desire for better manhood.

The small pay that the poor man earns makes it necessary for him to live in a crowded neighborhood, where he and his family lack air and water and are exposed to the poison of bad sanitary conditions. They cannot afford to have upon their table that which they ought to eat; they must be content with inferior food and little of it. The result is a low condition of body, which has a depressing effect upon the mind and the will and makes goodness difficult. The ill-fed are not desirable members of society. "He was an hungered, and the tempter came to him," is a text which does not always end as it ended in the gospel.

Presently sickness comes and there is no money for a doctor. Money is worth a great deal sometimes in sickness; it will buy life. Many more children die in the families of the poor than in the same number of families living in better circumstances. The children seem numerous enough as one goes about in the regions where the poor live, but it must be remembered that there are a great many more families in these blocks than in the same space elsewhere, and that the curbstone is the children's only playground. People sometimes think that death does a service to the community when it thins out this teeming population, and the figures of the death-rate are read by them with much sociological interest and very little human sympathy. These remote and obscure mournings seem of small account, but in truth, in most of these houses, narrow and miserable as they are, there is as much love in the mother's heart as there is among the rich, and death means just as much.

The poor live in the midst of anxiety. Employment is always precarious; there is no money in the bank to meet emergencies; if work fails, then a quick choice must be made between starvation and beggary and sin. And there are the children. It is hard enough to bring up children in the right way anywhere, but the difficulties are great and portentous in a tenement, where there is no privacy, the whole family sometimes living in one room, the boys and girls sent out into the perilous streets to play. They must be taken early from school, if, indeed, in the present overcrowded condition of the public schools, they can get in at all.

They must go to work. Thus they get at best but the smattering of an education and enter life with but a small part of a fair chance.

In these contracted quarters, where cleanliness seems to be impossible, where the refinements of gentle living appear absurd, where the man comes home from his hard work to his meager supper, with the wet clothes of the day's washing dripping upon him as he eats, where every sort of mean temptation is accentuated by the conditions of life, moral wretchedness is the natural consequence. The prisons are filled with the poor.

It may be said, properly enough, that these people are many of them poor because they have got what they deserve; they are shiftless or vicious or incompetent; but it must be remembered that the majority of them were born incompetent or were reared in such fashion that they could hardly be other than incompetent, because they had poor parents. What else can be expected, as the result of long hours and small wages under our present social conditions, than a generation of incapables? Scantily fed, without education, exposed to disease, tempted to sin, lacking the safeguards which surround the children of those who live in pleasant houses—into what other sort of men and women shall these children grow?

The first step in the solution of the problem of poverty is to realize that such a problem presses upon us for solution. Presses upon us? Yes, and demands an answer, like the sphinx of old, with tragic consequences if we hesitate.

The problem must be solved partly because it means loss and partly because it means peril.

After all, the best thing in the community is not a mill, nor a mansion, nor a bank, but a man; and the best wealth of the neighborhood is to be found in the good character, the intelligence, and the health of the people. "What do you raise in this part of the country?" says the tourist to the farmer, as they go on over the rough road between the rocky fields. And the farmer answers, "We raise *men*." Blessed is the nation, blessed is the city, that raises men.

The slum, however, is a bad place in which to raise men. You might as well expect to raise a rose-bush in a sand-pile. It is absolutely impossible that under the circumstances of the poverty of the tenement-house the best contribution of strength and service can be made to the community. Men and women planted in such places, on the cold side of the town where there is no sun, cannot yield the harvests that fill the garner of the best prosperity. Every uneducated or unprofitable poor man is a loss to the community by what he might otherwise have done. Now and then a poor man gets a chance, and he astonishes the neighbors; he is transplanted into better soil, and there is a change such as comes over a mean and scraggy bush when it is taken from the side of the road and put in a good garden. Somebody takes hold of a poor boy and gives him an education and an opportunity, and he turns out a musician or a statesman or a preacher or a poet, and is of use in the world, and helps to make the planet a better place to live in. Twenty

other boys on the same street, who might have done as much, go to the devil. We have to employ policemen to protect us from them and jails in which to lock them up.

That is what poverty means: it means that the wonderful possibilities that are resident in human beings are not developed. Thus we are all the poorer for it. We cannot afford to let poverty go on. A bad tenement is worse than a bad fire any day, for the fire destroys buildings, while the tenement destroys men.

And poverty means not only loss, but peril. Two things combine to-day to make the present social condition a source of serious danger. One is materialism, the other is democracy. On one side is a materialized society, teaching a doctrine to which the poor man listens with terrible attention—the doctrine that a good house and a good dress and a good dinner are essential to the happiness of life; on the other side is poverty, lacking all these things, and looking on at them through the palings of the fence, and watching the shadows on the window with hungry eyes—and in possession of supreme power. The poor man scarcely knows it; the ballot as yet is but a bit of foolish paper on which he will write what somebody bids him, in obedience to a political party which has no interest in him except to use him. But he is finding out. We have put all power into his hands, for worse or better. It is a new thing in the history of nations. This present democracy has no precedent in all the experience of the race, and what it will do when it appreciates

the situation no man may wisely prophesy. It is plain, however, that such a day as this, when property is in the hands of the few and power is in the hands of the many, is a day of peril.

Poverty is the supreme problem. Everything else turns upon it, and leads up to it, and is confronted by it. We weary ourselves over our petty controversies, or go on idly living our pleasant, contented, and unprofitable lives, taking no account of the weather, and making light of all predictions of the deluge. Neither do I believe that there will be any deluge, but the position is one of grave peril, notwithstanding. "The policies which occupy the leaders' minds," says Canon Barnett, "the interests of business, the theologies, the fashions, are but webs woven in the trees while the storm is rising in the distance."

II.

The problem of poverty is a Christian problem, because it touches two great Christian doctrines: the doctrine of brotherly love and the doctrine of the dignity of man.

The supreme thing in the Christian religion is character, but the character on which this emphasis is laid is social. Jesus comes preaching salvation—not the salvation of the individual alone, but the salvation of society. He comes to save the world. Thus he preaches the kingdom of God, the perfected social state in which all men are to be united for the good of all. Men are not to stand apart, but are to be in

company with others, where each helps each. Jesus comes out of the desert and enters into the city. The millennium is to be established by common effort after the common good, following his example.

Thus it has been wisely said that God and one man will suffice for any religion except Christianity. Indeed, in Buddhism perfection is attained when the man has been absorbed in God, when the human disappears in the divine as the drop of water in the crystal sea, and God remains alone. In the Christian religion there must be God and two men, that there may be opportunity for the exercise of those social virtues which are essential to the character set forth by Jesus Christ. This altruism is elemental in the faith of Jesus. It is interesting to note that, after all the researches in history and human nature which philosophers and psychologists and ethical reformers have carried on these many years, seeking for the highest good and man's best duty, we are brought back at last to the Sermon on the Mount, and to him who preached it, and to the two sayings which every Christian knows by heart: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and "This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you."

It is accordingly impossible that Christianity and poverty should go on patiently side by side. They have, indeed, existed together. The poor have crowded the cathedral steps and swarmed about the monastery gate, and that has gone on year after year, getting no better. But at the heart of all this seeming contradiction lay a deep sense of duty to the poor and a true

purpose of ministration. The ministration was of a mistaken temporary sort which often did more harm than good, but the spirit of ministry was there. In spite of selfishness and error, there was a great desire to be of service to the poor. What to do was not so plain; indeed, even to-day we are not quite sure about it.

Christianity and poverty cannot abide together. The Christian who loves his neighbor, and who knows that his neighbor is whoever needs his help, and who realizes that he is sent in the name of Jesus Christ to do the work of Christ, cannot sit content in his comfortable home while the poor suffer. The Christian who is contented with the world is no Christian at all.

Poverty contradicts also that other Christian doctrine of the dignity of man. It insists that men shall have not only love, but justice. Teaching the fatherhood of God, it teaches also that all men are brothers; it forbids condescension and makes it impossible; it insists upon fraternity. The philanthropist has sometimes insisted that the employer shall be as a father to his men, that the old feudal relation of protection and obedience shall be brought back out of the middle ages into our industrial life; but the people have not been satisfied with that; they have demanded better laws, and honest equality, and their rights, and no charity. Not to be dealt with as children, but as brethren, not to be protected, but to be met as men, is what the people want; they stand upon the dignity of man.

It is sometimes said that Jesus Christ was the dis-

coverer of the individual; others say that he was the discoverer of society. What is there that is fine and true in all our life which does not at last go back to him? The Christian ideal is a society in which every man is free to live his own best life, but in which also that best life cannot be lived aright so long as any man about him suffers pain or loss. St. Paul spoke the great word centuries ago. A pain in a man's foot affects the condition of the whole man; he cannot read nor think with joy so long as that goes on. The distance between the foot and the brain is as far as the distance between the tenement and the palace; yet the pain hurts, and the man is not a well man while it lasts.

It is intolerable to all right religion that numbers of people should be wretched and miserable and bruised and maimed in order that some others may abide in peace and comfort, and be warm and satisfied, and have leisure time for poetry and pictures and the sweets of gentle living. Thus it was that slavery came to an end; it had been in the world for ages, and men said that it would continue forever. Some said that it ought to so continue, and misread the Bible to prove it. Everything was on its side; vested interests, traditions, selfishnesses innumerable were entrenched about it; but it affronted the Christian conscience, it defied the essential Christian doctrines of fraternity and human right; and in spite of everything it did come to an end, and had thereafter no place in the good world.

Industrial slavery will follow the same course,

though its end will come, we hope, in gentler fashion. It cannot go on. That any man should have no chance in order that his fellow-man may dwell delicately is in defiance of religion. And somehow, in spite of all insuperable obstacles, in the face of the impossible, though to-day the solution of the problem seems so far away that all that we have done or thought appears but to touch the surface, the solution will be found.

III.

The church, the state, and the individual have one after the other undertaken this great task.

The church began with it at the beginning. It went out from its reading of the Bible to minister to the people for whom the Bible had so much to say, of whom the saints and heroes of religion had been the champions.

The Bible is the book of the poor. The rich have always found it necessary to interpret it with great exegetical freedom in order to read it in any degree of spiritual comfort. The prophets of the Old Testament were preachers of economic righteousness; they were on the side of the people. The psalms—unless the hearers conventionalized most of the meaning out of them—must have sounded strangely in the ears of some of the congregation. The Bible, indeed, is a tremendously revolutionary volume, and the free way in which it is left lying about within the reach of hungry people shows how we miss its real meaning. The Bible was not written to be read only at

Wednesday night prayer-meetings. The New Testament is as strong as the Old. Robert of Sicily is not the only ruler who has complained of the dangerous phrases of the Magnificat: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and the rich hath he sent empty away." These be strange verses to be sung in wealthy congregations.

It was therefore considered that the first duty of a Christian was to care for the poor. In the early church the offerings of the people were entirely for the poor; afterward the tithes were divided into three portions: one for the priest, one for the church edifice, and one for the poor. The theory was that each parish should care for its own poor. The whole management of charity was in the hands of the church.

The reality fell, however,—as realities will,—below the ideal. Either the people did not sufficiently give to the church fund, or the priest did not wisely distribute it. Probably both of these defects contributed together to the general failure. There are early indications that the alms-box was in frequent need of replenishing. Special efforts, which have a very modern aspect, had to be made to raise money. The church supper makes its appearance away back in ecclesiastical history.

It was necessary, therefore, as the church grew and the poor multiplied and the parish fund became less and less adequate to the situation, that the good work should go on upon some other plan. The work was accordingly taken up by the monastery. The monks have been sufficiently abused, and there is no doubt

but that the dispensation of charity in their hands proved presently to be even an iniquitous thing. The time came when the state was compelled, by the intolerable conditions into which the church had led the people, to take the work of charity into its own charge. It ought to be said, however, that the monks did the best they knew. We who have ourselves succeeded so scantily in solving the hard problem may not very consistently malign them.

The idea of the monastery was simply to feed the poor. The gates were always open, and all the poor of all the country round, and all the wandering beggars who asked alms, were fed and lodged.

This was done partly out of human compassion, partly from the remembrance of the example and the precept of Jesus Christ, and partly from the doctrine of the meritoriousness of good works. Often the poor were fed not for their own sake only, but for the spiritual advantage of those who fed them. Every will provided a bequest for the needy, commonly with a condition which showed its purpose, the condition that prayer should be made for the benefactor's soul. It can hardly be said that during this time there was any real thought of solving the problem of poverty. Poverty, indeed, by the precepts of the monastic life and by the example of the begging friars, was counted among the virtues. The idea that it might some day be abolished did not enter into the minds of the benevolent. How would we be able to win heaven if there were no poor?

Under the impulse of this idea, charity was not

only widely but indiscriminately distributed. It is true that the theory was in favor of investigation. St. Basil, in the fourth century, had taught that charity is one of the most difficult of the virtues, and that it must be undertaken with the greatest care. "He who gives to one who is really in need," he said, "gives to God, and will of him be rewarded; he who without distinction gives to every beggar that runs up to him is not really bestowing alms from compassion for need, but is tossing, as it were, a crust to a troublesome dog." And Professor Ashley notes that "one of the most celebrated medieval theologians of Paris laid down that to give to one who has no need is not only not a merit, but a demerit." Notwithstanding these excellent intentions, however, the beggar was served with food and shelter, no matter who he was or whence he came. At the gate of St. Cross Hospital at Winchester to-day, as every traveler knows, whoever asks may have a horn of ale and a bit of bread. The custom is preserved as a picturesque survival of that earlier day when the land was covered with like hospitable establishments, wherein whoever would might eat and sleep.

The result was that the land was filled with idle beggars. The monasteries and hospitals increased in wealth, and the mendicants increased in number. Men went about in crowds, frightening honest passers, "prowling and poaching for lumps of bread and meat." By the end of the fifteenth century, when the new forces were starting men to thinking all manner of new thoughts, it became generally apparent

that the endeavors of the church to meet the problem of poverty had failed. Poverty, indeed, under this mistaken dealing, had become a pest and a terror. A change was absolutely necessary. The problem was undertaken by the state.

IV.

The crisis came by reason of many causes working together. The difficulties of the time were not due altogether to the errors of the church. The monasteries, as in England, were dissolved, and thus not only were the beggars turned away who had long been fed there, but the monks themselves were driven out of house and home, and were in need of alms. The new landlords, too, who seized the church lands were not so considerate of the small tenants as the monks had been, and had no scruple about pulling down a cottage to enlarge a pasture. A succession of bad harvests increased the general hunger and added to the popular distress. With the increase, especially in England, of the power of the king, and the consequent cessation of private wars among the great nobles, numbers of small standing armies, the armed households of the castles, were disbanded, and swelled the crowds of unemployed and poor.

Labor, also, in the transition from the gild to the domestic method, lost its former constant stability. Under the gild system the master took in work and distributed it among his men, himself working with them, and when the product was completed sold it.

Under the domestic system the material was provided and the product sold by the merchant, who dealt with a wider market, under conditions much less certain. Sometimes men had work and sometimes not.

In addition to these various aggravations of the natural poverty which besets our shiftless race—closed gates of monasteries, bad crops, diminished households of castles, and changes in the conditions of industry—there began a series of aggressions, which continued long and effected much, whereby the land passed gradually out of the hands of the people and came to be possessed by the few. This was accomplished partly by inclosure of the commons and partly by purchase of small holdings. And it was occasioned in England, where it is a factor in the case to an extent not to be found elsewhere, by two sets of conditions: one economic, and the other political. The wool industry made a new demand for sheep farms, so that more and more the gardens were turned into grass-land. At the same time, in politics men who wanted power bought property; the two things went together. The lords and the commons represented not the people, but the forests and the pastures of the vast estates. The greatest man was he who could ride longest in a straight line over his own fields.

The world was in this condition, poverty at its height, and the church method of dealing with it discredited, when at the Reformation the state felt called upon to undertake the problem. The transition, like most transitions, was made but slowly; the time can-

not be stated by the month or year when the relief of the poor entered thus into its second stage.

The change is seen in progress in a provision of the sixteenth century, that "if any person, being able to further the charitable work, do obstinately and forwardly refuse to give toward the help of the poor, the parson, vicar or curate, and churchwardens of the parish shall gently exhort him." And if this fail, and if even the bishop, being brought in, be unable to persuade the obdurate brother to his Christian duty, then may the justice of the peace lay a proper tax upon him, and collect it with the assistance of the law. The time came presently when the poor fund was raised regularly by a rate exacted from the people.

The new philanthropists differed from the old in many ways. They attempted at last to solve the problem of poverty; their remedy was law.

Early in the sixteenth century, John Major, a notable theologian of the time, whose scholastic studies were attempered by his Scotch extraction, put the thoughts of men into articulate speech, and made a practical suggestion, thus: "If the prince or community should decree that there should be no more beggars in the country and should provide for the impotent, the action would be praiseworthy and lawful." To this utterance of the orthodox, Luther added the influence of the new progressive movement in politics and in religion. He advocated the total abolition of mendicancy. "There must be an administrator or guardian," he said, "who shall know all the poor, and shall inform the council or the parson of what he has need."

The poor law, which was constructed on these lines, and has gone on for worse or better into this present, has been compared to the patched and tattered garments of the beggar for whose benefit it was instituted — so has it changed from year to year, and grown by amendment set upon amendment.

At first it had reference altogether to the vagrant, the vagabond, the wandering serving-man, the able-bodied beggar. Out of the wreck of the old feudalism and monasticism he emerges, and looks about knowing not whither to go, and terrifies society. For the first time the "isolated individual," the man who is not bound down to any bit of soil and who has no master and no friends, appears in history. The state deals with this new man by punishment. Once it proclaims that whoever will may take him and set him to work, paying him the common wages, and in case of obstinacy or complaint about the work or the hours or the pay, sending him to jail. Presently it puts the vagrant in the stocks and keeps him there three days and nights, with food of bread and water. By and by the beggar, "being whole and mighty in body, and able to labor," if he be found outside the parish where he was born, out of employment, even though he be seeking work, is tied to the tail of a cart and whipped on his bare back "till his body be bloody by reason of such whipping," and thus sent back where he belongs. Upon a third, or even a second offense, he may be hanged. Thus far nothing was attempted beyond indiscriminate punishment. The purpose was to frighten people out of mendicancy. It

was not considered that among these wanderers might be honest folk, made poor and homeless, not by their own fault, but by misfortune or the conditions of the time. Neither was any provision made for the relief of the poor man when, with bloody back, he repaired to the parish whence he had gone out.

Accordingly, in Elizabeth's time, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the law was changed. Officers were appointed in each place to oversee the poor; they were to care for the children of those who were unable to care for them themselves; they were to relieve "the lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor and not able to work." They were to purchase "a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, or other ware and stuff, to set the poor on work." Those who would not work with a good will were to be persuaded thereto by a residence in jail.

Nevertheless, the number of valiant beggars, and the terror that they gave to honest people, went on increasing. In 1753 a magistrate of Westminster writes of the conditions which he saw: "The poor," he says, "starve and freeze and rot among themselves," and "beg and steal and rob among their brethren." "There is not a parish," he declares, "within the liberty of Westminster, which doth not swarm all day with beggars and all night with thieves."

This was due partly to the many confusions of the time, to the transitions of industry, and to the disturbances of war; but partly also to the inefficiency and dishonesty of officials and to the mistaken amend-

ments added to the law itself. By the Statute of Settlement freedom of movement was made impossible for the poor man; he could not look outside his native place for work. Under this statute the energies of officials were mainly occupied in "ridding one parish of its paupers at the expense of another," and the money which was intended for the poor was spent in fees for lawyers. Thus the poor rates every year grew greater, while there was no lessening of the ills of poverty.

Thus the next step was taken by a reform of the poor laws. That was in 1834. It was felt that one of the great defects of the law of Elizabeth was its permission of relief to the able-bodied poor in their own homes, and that thereby it was difficult to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. It was accordingly provided that this outdoor relief should gradually be abolished, and that the workhouse should be made a test of need. The working of the law was intrusted to boards of guardians. As an instance of the change thus made by the putting away of mischievous statutes and the enactment of better ones, the case is cited of the county of Sussex, which, before the law was passed, had on its lists six thousand able-bodied paupers, and two years later only one hundred and twenty-four.

Even the good law, however, did not solve the problem. The provision touching outdoor relief was not regarded. The workhouse became a scandal. Poverty went on increasing. The bitter cry of the hungry and forgotten sounded in men's ears.

Thus the state repeated the failure of the church. The church made a bad matter worse; the state did not make it very much better.

V.

In the meantime, along with these public efforts have gone manifold private enterprises, some of them aided by the state, many of them carried on by members of the church and in more or less connection with the church. They existed in the middle ages, and have continued ever since, changing their form to meet the necessities of the time, and to-day they constitute the largest, the most efficient, and the most hopeful part of the effort to relieve the condition of the poor. I mean the homes for children and the aged, the hospitals, the societies for the protection of the poor against abuses, the associations for their advancement, the groups of good people who meet to plan for the best interests of those who have no friends, and who go among them, giving themselves in their service.

Yet, after all, the poor remain; people who are hungry look out of their windows at the stone spires of churches, and are no better for the sight. Wretchedness and misery continue. The poor are perhaps less afflicted than they were, but the amendment is not great.

VI.

The failure of the church and of the state and of the individual to solve the problem of poverty is due

not only to the very difficult character of the problem and to the extent to which human nature enters into it,—that elusive quality which is forever interfering with our accurate equations,—but to four serious defects, to whose remedy we may look as the next step, or series of steps, in this matter. These defects are, first, the lack of discrimination; second, the lack of coöperation; third, the lack of personal acquaintance; and fourth, a lack of knowledge of the underlying causes.

Plainly, a difference must be made between the worthy and the unworthy. The failure to make this essential distinction, whether at the monastery gate or at the kitchen door, must always result in a defeat of the purposes of charity and in the working of inevitable mischief. This is the plain lesson of experience, and is as sure as the multiplication table or the law of the harvest. Twice two are four; and four beggars fed to-day will be eight beggars to-morrow. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" and the community which sows bread in the wallets of mendicants shall reap slums, and must pull down its jails and build greater. It must always be a disputed question whether the mistaken saints or the malicious sinners do the more harm in the world; but it is as certain as anything can be that the mistaken saint who, out of the kindness of his heart, gives a dole to the unknown beggar on the street or at the door, thereby allies himself with the malicious sinner, and becomes an accomplice with him against the good of the poor and the welfare of the community.

The initial need of the present day is discrimination in private charity. This is still hindered, as it was in the monastery, by the misreading of the gospel. The sentence, "I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat," is one which no man wants to hear; but the hunger which is meant is honest hunger, and the words must be read in the light of St. Paul's saying, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." There is a hunger which is connected with disease, and if the patient gets what he asks for he will be sicker than he was before. Evidently the text does not apply there. The hunger at the kitchen door is probably of that same dangerous kind, and to satisfy it without making any investigation into the case is a good deal more likely to kill the beggar than it is to cure him.

It may profitably be remembered that the moment when the prodigal son "came to himself" was the time when he began to be very hungry, and "no man gave unto him." That was the very condition of his recovery. The thing that made him turn his back on that bad life and set his face toward his father's house was nothing else but hunger. Had there been some tender-hearted, compassionate, foolish, and indiscriminating philanthropist at hand to supply the fellow with a basket of broken food, he would have been encouraged in his evil way, and would probably have been a prodigal to the end of his misspent days. It would be hard, indeed, to have to anticipate a judgment at which we should be confronted by a company of poor folk pointing their thin fingers at us and crying out, "I was an hungered, and he gave me no meat;"

but it ought to be as dreadful to contemplate a scene at that great crisis and revelation and end of things, when a crowd of prodigals shall enact that same tragedy of condemnation, saying, "I was an hungered, and he gave me meat; I was thirsty, and he gave me drink, —gave me, at least, the money to buy drink,—and so he encouraged and refreshed and helped me on in my unhappy path toward the bottomless pit."

Hunger is sometimes the visitation of God, and is meant to tell men that they are living contrary to the commandments of God, and the idle kindness of the indiscriminating philanthropist hinders the purposes of God. It is not well to be more kind than God. "Blessed is he that *considereth* the poor and needy," is the right text to inscribe over the kitchen door. When the case of the poor is not considered, attended to, examined, there is no blessing. In Mr. Lowell's poem of "Sir Launfal," the knight who flings a careless coin to the beggar by his gate comes back without the vision of the holy grail.

It is a question which admits of much debate, whether the saloon-keeper or the housekeeper is more to blame for poverty—whether the dram or the dole does the more harm. People who have studied the matter with much care are disposed to lay a heavy burden of fault at the kitchen door.

The truth is that the honest beggar cannot be discovered. The unknown mendicant, when his condition is investigated, always turns out to be a fraud. The worthy poor are not to be found by opening the door. And if by chance, in some hard stress of

weather and ill wind, an honest man should ask an alms, whoever gave it without question, without assuring himself that the honest man was genuinely honest, would send him on to his next neighbor richer by a silver quarter of a dollar, but robbed of his independence, of his self-respect, and of his character. The beggar would have made the fatal discovery that to beg is easier than to dig.

It is significant that the family whose rule is never to give without discrimination has few mendicant visitors; not once in a dozen months does a beggar knock at that door; while across the street the residence of the careless giver is a boarding-house for tramps. The meaning is that the man who asks for food, instead of being the isolated and deserted unfortunate of our imagination, forgotten by society and the companion of bad luck, is a member of the great confraternity of the brethren of the sad story and the extended hand, and has read a cabalistic sign upon the post of your gate informing him as to your mean and incredulous disposition.

To the mistakes of charity in private must be added the equally serious mistakes of charity in public. The state has improved upon the church, out of whose hands it took this work, in that it has made an attempt at discrimination where the church made none. The attempt, however, has not proved successful. The state has tried according to its lights to draw the needed line between the competent and the incompetent, between those who really ought to be helped and those who ought to be compelled to help themselves;

but it has failed, chiefly in consequence of a confused plan of relief. People have been ministered to, some of them in institutions, some of them at home.

The home relief has been the initial error. It is easy to take; the shame of it is small, and the temptation to deceit is correspondingly great; it is on the side of mendicancy. The public officials charged with the matter are seldom experts, save in a most rough-and-ready fashion, in these difficult cases. Whether the poor are worthy or not, the visit of the inquisitor from the public bureau of relief is like the call of a veterinary surgeon upon a patient with brain-fever. The temptation is great, also, not only upon the poor to deceive, but upon the politician to make use of this convenient fund to secure votes. The only effective method of discrimination and relief in public charity, in the opinion of most intelligent economists, the only way in which the necessary sifting can be accomplished and the help be put where it will do the most good, is for the state to confine its work to its institutions, and outside of them to distribute no alms whatsoever.

Thus Mr. Warner, in his book on "American Charities," says regarding this outside relief that the effect of it politically is to corrupt the police, that the effect of it morally is to lower the whole tone of the population, and that its economic effect is to lower the rate of wages. He quotes the cases of Brooklyn and Philadelphia. Mr. Seth Low asserted, as mayor of Brooklyn, that the relief money was used as a vast political corruption fund. In 1877 in that city 46,350

persons, nearly one tenth of the population, were helped at a cost of \$141,207. In the next year that appropriation was suddenly and absolutely stopped. Not a dollar was expended by the city in charity outside of its institutions. It was naturally anticipated that great distress would follow. "The testimony of the private relief associations," said Mr. Low, "and of many who give much time personally to visiting among the poor, is all to the same effect. The poor have suffered less this winter in Brooklyn than either last year or the winter before." Philadelphia tried the same experiment. In 1879, \$66,000 were distributed by that city in this sort of charity; then the whole fund stopped; not another person was helped with city money by city officials. There was no more demand for other charity that year than usual, and the population of the almshouses actually decreased. "Nearly all the experiences in this country," says Mr. Warner, "indicate that outdoor relief is a source of corruption to politics, of expense to the community, and of degradation and increased pauperization to the poor."

Not only has the necessary discrimination between different kinds of poor people been thus obscured in the state by the giving of relief to persons outside of institutions, but in the institutions themselves grave results have arisen from the insufficient classification and mistaken treatment there existing.

The almshouse, for the most part, still contains a sad and strangely assorted company of aged persons, of idle and weak-witted folk, of the deformed, and of the vicious. Even in the best there is rarely a satis-

factory division of those who are poor by fault from those who are poor by misfortune. The consequence is that not only does the almshouse become a shameful and distressing place for those chance decent people who are driven into it by the storm, but it serves as a school wherein the wicked teach the weak. It ought to be understood by this time that wherever this inadequate classifying exists in any public institution, the purposes of the public money are totally defeated; that is done which the people employ officials to prevent. Almshouses are built for the betterment of social conditions. When they are so managed as to minister to the worst interests of society, to increase poverty rather than to relieve it, and to strengthen the hands and harden the heart of vice, then the tax-paying public is being both robbed and insulted—as if a total abstinence society should use its membership fees for the maintenance of kitchen bar-rooms.

The aged belong in homes built for that purpose; the sick belong in hospitals; the insane and feeble-minded in asylums; all the children in proper schools; and all defective persons, blind and mute and deaf, in appropriate institutions. In the well-appointed city they take the very refuse of the sewer, and sort it out, and make good use of every part; but the human waste gathered in the almshouse rots together.

This classification leaves those who seek the almshouse by reason of the stress of poverty, or for other reasons, worse or better. For them it is essential that the house be a place of restoration. To that end it is

not well that it be too comfortable. The mayor of Baltimore complains that tramps come to the almshouse of that city from all over the United States on account of its excellent reputation. Neither is it advisable that life in the almshouse be too easy. The only rational question would seem to be, What do these people need to set them on their feet again? And the immediate answer is that what they need is not a rest-cure, but a work-cure. Some of these people can be saved to society; they want to be taught and trained; they ought to be sent out equipped with some new strength for the hard fight of life. That old proverbial connection between the devil and the idle hand must be kept in mind. The overcrowded almshouse, the hostelry of the tramp, the winter quarters of the mendicant, dealing with many poor folk and doing good to none, must be amended.

The second defect in our present philanthropy is the lack of coöperation.

Between the private house and the department of charities there exist a great number of kindly associations for all manner of good work, both in and out of the churches. The existence of these various voluntary societies side by side with the public relief of the poor is both necessary and useful. Wherever the state withdraws from ministration to the poor in their homes these societies must be present in order to undertake so much of that work as ought to be done. In any case, the societies will go on because they represent an element in human nature which is not only persistent but praiseworthy, and a factor in right

progress—the element of individuality. A great deal of good work cannot be efficiently done unless the worker has his own way. Too much system takes the life out of effort. Straight lines and right angles will do very well in geometry, where they belong, but they are to be used with care in charity. Most of the people who have perfect plans which will reduce all work into balanced and measured conformity, with so much on this side and exactly the same on the other, forget that they are dealing with human nature.

On the other hand, it is but a narrow and selfish temper which inclines people to establish new associations rather than to join in those already formed. The result is that effort is confused, the generous public is beset to distraction with appeals for money, and the poor and unfortunate are relieved according to the fashion, rather than according to their needs. Some are helped half a dozen times over, others not at all.

The first essential is for everybody to belong to one or other of these excellent associations, and thus be taking a coöperative part with their neighbors in the relief of poverty. The second essential is some sort of better understanding between the associations themselves. Without surrender of individual freedom, the various charitable agencies of the district—the churches and societies now working in wasteful and haphazard fashion—may well come to some sort of mutual understanding; they may send representatives to a friendly conference; they may cause a list to be made of the various kinds of philanthropic work carried on in the district, of the purposes of each association, and of

the limits within which it means to minister; they may have a map made of the town, that it may be seen how the forces of philanthropy and the needs of the municipality fit together. Here the societies overlap, there they leave an opportunity unmet. Evidently when Sapphira is being supported by the Methodists and the Baptists and the bureau of relief at the same time, something is the matter. The meeting of the societies will thus become a clearing-house for the right adjustment of relief.

The name of this conference when it takes organized shape is the Associated Charities, an institution which ought to commend itself to all sensible people, and have the suffrages of all friends of the poor and all enlightened enemies of poverty. Unless it exists in some form in the community, misappropriation of charitable funds is inevitable. The money cannot be intelligently spent, nor any sort of help be judiciously given, unless the good people work together.

Neither does it seem possible in any other way to check the mischievous philanthropy of the kitchen door, for people will not turn the hungry beggar into the street; there is always the possibility that he may be the hundredth man; there is always the thought that now at last Christ comes, as he said, in the person of his poor, asking an alms. The tender-hearted Christian—unless he has learned that rigorous treatment is as necessary in charity as it is in surgery—will not heed the strongest admonitions; his heart will bid defiance to his head. Indeed, to say "No" at the door and to do nothing elsewhere is but a selfish

and hard-hearted proceeding. In this case the Charity Organization Society presents itself. What this beggar needs is manifestly not that only which will tide him over for an hour or two, but that which will really and thoroughly and permanently help him. He ought to be looked up and looked out for. If the almsgiver can do that, well and good; if he cannot, then he can send the beggar to the office of the charities. There he will get just what he needs, and as much of it as he needs. Only by such an organization can the case of the mendicant be promptly and effectively met.

Discrimination and coöperation, however, may themselves fail for lack of the third need in the right relief of the poor—the need of personal acquaintance. Organization and investigation, a great many sympathetic people feel, are but mechanical and angular agencies, made of wood and iron, and having little to do in the work of Christian love. It may properly be said, indeed, that love, as it is defined in the gospel, is concerned not only with the heart but with the mind, and that common sense is as much a part of it as sentiment, and that a sympathy which does harm is not to be preferred above a prudence which waits and is sure.

Still, the criticism is a fair one, and the charity which is justly open to it is at fault. That is generally recognized to-day. Institutionalism is being put away, and personality is being put forward in its place. The poor cannot be dealt with as if they were bales of merchandise; that is plain. To refuse the beggar at the kitchen door is a good and necessary thing; to

demand that all who ask the state for help shall go into an institution to get it is another admirable and necessary arrangement; and to provide that the philanthropic agencies shall work intelligently together is most desirable; but these matters are all preliminary to the real thing, which is to deal with the needy, in the spirit of the best friendship, one by one.

Thus the good Samaritan stopped and devoted himself to the one man; he might have hurried over to his side and have paid him the brief visit of a busy doctor; he might have poured oil and wine into his hurts, and then gone on to do the same kind service for half a dozen other similarly afflicted wayfarers along the Jericho road. The result would probably have been that seven men would have had a somewhat more easy hour, and would have died that night of exhaustion and exposure. The Samaritan saved one.

So, also, it is noted that at the Pool of Bethesda, where the sick lay in crowds, Jesus healed one. Had he lifted his blessed hand and cured them all, the whole hospital would have risen up in a condition of great joy and would have gone home, better in body, but no whit affected in any other way. They would have had no special consciousness of Jesus Christ. That, at least, was the case with the ten lepers who were healed by wholesale, and of whom only one came back. It is characteristic of human nature that general blessings are not especially appreciated, and have but little moral value. No relief fund, whether in money or in nominal work, was ever distributed without hardening men's hearts, setting a wider separation

between the rich and the poor, and making things worse instead of better.

Men are men, and will never be satisfied with bread ; they want the touch of a fraternal hand.

Thus all charitable work at present is making increasing use of friendly visitation. The purpose is to bring the force of personality to bear on poverty. Good people, in the spirit of Jesus and for love of their fellow-men, are offering themselves for this Christian service. The matter comes back, then, in the last analysis, to the spirit of neighborliness. The great thing is for every family of any means to minister in personal and persistent friendship to one family in need. Even that would not immediately bring in the millennium, but it would mightily help it along.

Anybody, however, who knows the poor, will teach us that all these things are upon the surface, and that so long as we are content to amend poverty in these ways, though good will result, poverty will continue. For the fourth defect in dealing with this problem is neglect of the underlying causes of the trouble. The disease, and not the symptoms only, must be ministered to in order to a cure. The most hopeful thing in the present philanthropy is the desire to trace this matter back to the beginning. We want to know to-day not only who are poor, but why they and other people on that street are poor.

We have tried feeding people out of poverty, and it has not succeeded ; we have tried punishing them out of poverty, and that has not bettered matters much ;

now what we need is to find what is at fault in the conditions of a society in which poverty is possible, and to see if we cannot get them changed.

For some kinds of poverty the remedy is plain. Our own personal poverty, for example, which confronts us when the bills come in at the beginning of the month, is largely the result of an artificial standard of life, and may be remedied to our own advantage and to the advantage of society by the resolute adoption of a simpler way of living.

There is a poverty which is quite at the other extreme of the social scale, the poverty of confirmed paupers, loafers, criminals, and of those who do only casual and infrequent work. This, in the judgment of so careful an observer as Mr. Charles Booth, amounts to a disease, which is not only hereditary but contagious. These people are a source of positive mischief in the community. "The poverty of the poor," says Mr. Booth, "is mainly the result of the competition of the very poor." This class must therefore be treated like any other dangerously diseased persons in the community. They must be dealt with as we deal with those who have the smallpox or the cholera. They must be taken wholly out of society, and put in institutions where they may be scientifically treated and kept till they are cured.

Poverty in general, however, cannot be prescribed for in this easy way. After all is said, there remain certain underlying causes which must be removed before we can hope to see the beginning of the end. People are poor on account of industrial conditions

and on account of ethical conditions and on account of physical conditions. They are affected by their wages, by their temptations, and by their environment. Thus to study the problem of poverty is but to open the door into further study. We are confronted by the problem of *labor*, the problem of *moral reform*, and the problem of *the city*.

LABOR.

THE problem of labor arises out of the desire of man to better his condition and thereby to better himself. It is a product partly of the discontent which is at the heart of progress, and partly of the fraternal spirit which is of the essence of the Christian religion. The unprivileged are not willing to go on living narrow and defective lives, and the privileged are not willing that they should. Thus from two directions, from the poor and from the rich, from the ignorant and from the wise, the endeavor is made to get wrongs righted and to give every man a good fair chance.

This is a Christian problem, because the purpose of Christianity is to enrich life and to help every man to make the most of it. The saying of Jesus, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," is to be understood in the largest meaning of the words. The life that is intended includes that which is lived to-day. Life consists in harmony with environment. The fullness of it, the abundance of it, is measured by the response that we make to the world about us. The clear sight of the

eye, the keen hearing of the ear, the vigorous, intelligent, and delightful appreciation of the best in nature, in books, and in art, the right relation between a man and his neighbors—these things go to make up life. And when to these is added a consciousness and recognition and enjoyment of the unseen, so that there is a response not only of the senses to the world of sound and color, and of the mind to the world of intellectual truth, but of the soul to the world of spiritual being, and the man standing on the earth looks into heaven and sees God, then life is at its best. When men live under such conditions that this ideal cannot be fulfilled, when they are hindered by their circumstances from this right life and the abundance of it, then the Christian religion has a plain task. These conditions must be done away, these circumstances must be changed. Thus Jesus comes to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. It is a proclamation of the purpose of true religion. Men are to be set free; that which hinders the happiness, the opportunity, and the betterment of man is to be ended.

I.

The problem of labor is as old as the race. History is full of it. In order to solve it men have peopled the planet, seeking out new places in which to live beyond the reach of injustice and oppression, out of

the power of taskmasters. Thus our Aryan ancestors turned their faces toward the west and north.

When the Hebrews are afflicted in Egypt, and burdens are laid upon them too heavy to be borne, and hours are long and wages scant and the whip is busy, they stop work and rise up in the night and betake themselves into another country. The exodus was an industrial revolution; Moses was a labor leader. It is significant that in the midst of the ten commandments, the constitution of the new commonwealth, stands an act of labor legislation. The fourth commandment is often read as if it were a religious prescription teaching the duty of going punctually to church on Sunday. As a matter of fact, religion, in the conventional sense of that misused word, is not so much as mentioned in it. The adjective "holy" means separate. The Sabbath is to be kept as a day apart from other days for purposes of rest. The people who are thought of in it are the working-people. We lose the application by our custom of reading it always in the Book of Exodus. The commandment as it stands in Deuteronomy has nothing to say about the days of creation, but refers directly to the long slavery in Egypt. It is to be kept "that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." The meaning of it, put in our common speech, is this: the good Father in heaven says to men, "My children, you have been hard worked these many years; that is now over, and you are yourselves to become masters; men and women are to work for you. Be good to them; remember your own distresses at

the hands of taskmasters ; once every week give them a day off." That is the purpose of that ancient law. It is the working-man's commandment. It is the voice of God in behalf of the wage-earner. It is the first known effort made to regulate by law the hours of labor.

The Hebrew revolution is in two respects the type of all uprising of the people against their masters for many following centuries: it had its impulse in the discontent of the working-man, and it awakened no sympathy in the heart of the employer. Pharaoh and his people cared no more for their slaves than they did for their cattle; they classed them both together. All that they wanted was to get as much as possible out of them. The pain which attended the process was of no account with them. They did not give it the shadow of a thought. Thus went the world of industry for ages. With the entrance of the Christian religion into the life of man there came, indeed, a difference in the point of view. There were some men who cared. A new sense of responsibility and of fraternity was awakened in the social conscience. The people who lived in the great houses were more kind than of old to the people in the fields, but it was a condescending kindness. Between the two great revolutions, the Hebrew and the French, the cause of the common people was but scantily considered.

The French Revolution, it is true, was an uprising of the poor against the rich and of the slums against the court, rather than of the man against the master. It was political and social rather than industrial. But

it compelled attention to the rights and needs of man. The fact of discontent, and some of the good grounds for it, had been known all along by sympathetic and observant people. The problem of poverty had for several centuries perplexed the minds of legislators and engaged the thoughts of philanthropists; but until the crowds gathered in the streets of Paris, and the whole world stood breathless and terrified to see the tragedy enacted there, the existence of a wronged and wretched and desperate people was but dimly understood. It had long been accepted as a fact in the region of statistics, like the slave-trade in the midst of Africa, far apart from the real interests of comfortable folk; it now became a fact of life, stern, tragic, terrible, and close at hand. Of course there was misery; everybody knew that; the poor laws had been established on account of it. But most people had been in the pleasant habit of taking it as a matter of course, like earthquakes and bad weather, and had endured it with that patient resignation which we exercise so easily in regard to the pain and tribulation of our distant neighbors. But when the mob cried in the street men began to listen, and from that moment a new attitude toward the poor is taken by the wise and by the great, by the statesman, the scholar, and the Christian.

The French Revolution was not, indeed, the beginning of the recognition of the common people. It was rather the result of studies and theories which had been long continued. Impatient people carried these theories out of the libraries of philosophers, like

boys stealing sticks of dynamite out of the laboratory of a chemist, and they exploded. It seemed for a time as if the revolution would rather hinder than advance the cause of the people. It appeared to discredit democracy. There is no doubt but that the endeavor to gain liberty, equality, and fraternity in that succession was, as conservative people have said, a terrible mistake. First fraternity, then equality, and liberty last of all, is plainly the right order. Nevertheless, the French Revolution brought matters to a crisis. Thenceforth it was impossible altogether to forget the common people.

The revolution, indeed, was but the manifestation of a spirit which was stirring the hearts of many men. After all the years during which the sixteenth-century forces of powder and of printing had been at work teaching the lesson of individuality the slow scholar had begun to understand it; the new idea had got into the social mind. Men were saying everywhere that man must be free. Freedom was declared to be the best thing in the world. The new doctrine was applied to politics, to religion, and to industry. Men were thus brought face to face with the fact that from large departments of life freedom was shut out. It was notably excluded from the world of the working-man.

Thus it came to pass, a hundred years ago, that the problem of labor, which for ages had demanded to be solved, was recognized by wise people as an imperative problem. The study of it in a serious and systematic and sympathetic way began in that time of revolution when we were writing our Declaration of Independence.

II.

At the same time James Watt invented the steam-engine and opened the gates for the entrance of the machine.

The machine intensified the hard conditions under which the wage-earner did his work. Looking back to-day over the century during which the machine has dominated industry, it is easy to see the good that it has done: it has greatly increased the opportunities of employment; it has saved men from much degrading and exhausting labor; it has brought many things within reach of the working-man which were once to be found only in the houses of the very rich. Nevertheless, the work of the machine in the displacement of labor is evident; and locally, in this and that instance, everywhere, that seems the most obvious fact about it. In general it gives men work, but in particular it puts men out of their honest jobs. At the beginning this was especially felt.

It was plain, and is true to-day, that the machine took away a considerable part of the educative effect of work upon the worker. When men made shoes, each man beginning at the beginning and carrying the task through to the end, there was a variety which made the labor interesting. To-day one man does this, and another that, the same thing all day long. Work is monotonous and brings the weariness which comes with lack of interest. The mind of the workman is not developed by it. Gradually the man be-

comes a part of the machine. The brass-polisher, whose place is to hold pieces of metal against the burnisher, complains when the pieces are of different shapes, because the difference makes it necessary for him to think. Thus thought and work are separated.

It was evident, also, that the machine greatly increased the distance not only between the mind and the hand, but between the master and the man. The time had been when the employer worked at the same bench with the men, and ate at the same board, saying grace at meat; but the machine made that impossible. The employer now sat in his office, and the men in great gangs, so many of them that the employer did not know their names, worked in the black mill. There arose that sharp division of labor which is characteristic of our modern life. "The planning and arrangement of the business, its management and its risks, are borne by one set of people, while the manual work required for it is done by hired labor." This change, thus wrought by the machine, is pronounced by Professor Marshall, in his "Principles of Economics," to be "the chief fact in the form of modern civilization, the kernel of the modern economic problem."

The evils of the machine, however, did this service to the working-man: they revealed his condition to the world at large and to himself. Accordingly, the study of the problem of labor, which had been begun by those who were touched by the spirit of liberty, was carried on under the compulsion of a new sense of wrong.

Before the days of the industrial city the working-

man and his poverty were dispersed abroad over the country. Here and there, in the back streets of the larger towns, was much evident poverty; but for the most part the cases were obscure and isolated; there were no newspapers to bring the scattered facts together. Few men knew much more about the state of the world than was declared to them by their own eyes and ears. There was no railway to make intercourse and comparison easy. Men saw how things were in their own village, but the accumulated misery of the realm they knew not. Now, however, the wage-earners were gathered into great crowds about the mills and factories. Their numbers compelled attention.

At last the wage-earner himself began to get an intelligent idea of the situation. He was able to confer with his brethren. More and more, as the outlook of men was widened, as books were multiplied and cheapened, as the new means of communication followed the new forces of production, the conferences of the men in the intervals of work, the discussions of the parliament of the dinner-pail, grew serious and menacing. The man began to compare himself with the master, and the comparison did not satisfy him.

It is said with truth that the condition of the wage-earner to-day is a great deal better than it was a hundred years ago. He lives in a better house and looks out, often, into a better street. He has better furniture and more of it. He eats more substantial food, wears better clothes, has more books, and is of much more importance in the world than his grandfather. His real wealth, in the shape of parks and public

libraries and picture-galleries, is greatly increased. Kings and princes of the past might well have envied him. They were not half so comfortable.

It is to be noted also not only that these good things are to be said of the better class of working-people, but that there is an improvement going on these many years whereby the lower classes in continual succession are rising up. Thus, a little while ago the ditches in the streets were dug by the Irish; to-day the pick and shovel are in the hands of the Italian; to-morrow the place of the Italian will be taken by the Hun and the Slav. The Irishman has got a better job; he has gone into politics. There is a great deal of misery and degradation and white slavery in every city, but looked at by and large the sight has an element of encouragement in it, for this perpendicular section, with wealth and culture and righteous living at the top, and crime and starvation at the bottom, is a long ladder up whose rounds men and women are climbing every day. The beggar in the back tenement is badly enough housed, but he came from a worse place in Italy, and next year he or his children will move up.

This very element of hope, however, this possibility of betterment, this constant social progress from beneath, stimulates discontent. Men are not satisfied with the comparison between themselves and their ancestors; they measure themselves by their neighbors. The working-man is better off than he was, but he is still a long way down, and he knows it. He has a much stronger consciousness of his position than ever his grandfather had. He sees that the machine is

doing a great deal more for the master than it is for the man, and he resents the situation ; he is determined that it shall be changed.

The fact of machinery and the love of liberty have led to the study of the problem of labor.

III.

The first endeavor to solve the problem was made by the political economists. It is worth while to remember, not only with reference to the conditions under which the solution was attempted, but with reference also to the comparative novelty of the whole situation, that in the year 1775, in which the battle of Concord was fought and in which James Watt began the manufacture of steam-engines, Adam Smith was finishing his book on the "Wealth of Nations."

The men who undertook the problem were deeply interested in the welfare of the people, but were imperfectly acquainted with the people themselves. They were persons in easy circumstances, surrounded by books and accustomed to the society of statesmen and literary folk and gentlemen and scholars. Adam Smith had an ample income and was for a long time professor of moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow. It is interesting to speculate upon the differences that might have appeared in his writings had the company of vagrant "tinkers" who stole him while he was a child really got away with him and kept him till he was twenty-one years old. Malthus was a fellow of the University of Cambridge, and a clergyman of the

Church of England, settled in a quiet country parish. Ricardo, having made a fortune on the Stock Exchange, retired and gave himself to literature.

It was but natural, therefore, that these philosophers should deal with the abstract rather than with the concrete, and should have in mind a man of paper rather than the man of flesh and blood and heart and mind who worked in the mill. Accordingly, they proceeded upon the deductive method. They set down certain propositions, as, for example, the statement that man is moved by self-interest; they assumed that these propositions were true of human nature in general, and they proceeded to deduce from them the principles upon which man will act. Science in their day, it has been pointed out, was chiefly a matter of mathematics. It dealt with acids and alkalis, with rocks and gases, and with the distances between the fixed stars. It made no allowance for change, because the facts with which it was concerned did not change. Science to-day is biological; it deals with life. Its chief doctrine is the doctrine of evolution. The most important phenomenon which it knows is the phenomenon of growth. Of this the men who lived in the day when the economists were working on this problem knew nothing. It was, therefore, natural that the economists should take for granted not only that their assertions about man were true, but that these facts were, like those with which the men of science worked, hard, definite, and unalterable. They constructed a paper man and said, Thus is man and thus he will continue world without end.

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silk-mills where little girls of six stood on stools to reach their work.

At the same time in mines and collieries were little children working in the dark. Some of them watched beside the doors of narrow passages to open them when the coal-cart came and close them when it passed. Most of them were under thirteen years of age, some only five. There they sat in the horrible darkness, fighting the rats, seeing the sun only one day in seven. Others were harnessed by a chain to draw a cart which they pulled crawling on their hands and knees. Others pumped in the under-bottoms of the pit, standing all day in mud and water. They were ill fed, brutally punished for slight offenses, exposed to manifold accidents; education and morality were out of the question. After miserable lives they died young.

It was against these and other such horrible conditions that good men tried to bring the force of law. And in the face of it all, the economists voted against any interference of the state. There must be no restriction put on industry; the master and the man, even the master and the child, must be left quite to themselves. To this pass had the attempt come which the economists made to solve the problem of labor.

IV.

The next company of people who came with an answer to the perplexities of the time were the socialists.

Socialism as a strong feeling of human brotherhood,

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It was but natural, therefore, that these philosophers should deal with the abstract rather than with the concrete, and should have in mind a man of paper rather than the man of flesh and blood and heart and mind who worked in the mill. Accordingly, they proceeded upon the deductive method. They set down certain propositions, as, for example, the statement that man is moved by self-interest; they assumed that these propositions were true of human nature in general, and they proceeded to deduce from them the principles upon which man will act. Science in their day, it has been pointed out, was chiefly a matter of mathematics. It dealt with acids and alkalis, with rocks and gases, and with the distances between the fixed stars. It made no allowance for change, because the facts with which it was concerned did not change. Science to-day is biological; it deals with life. Its chief doctrine is the doctrine of evolution. The most important phenomenon which it knows is the phenomenon of growth. Of this the men who lived in the day when the economists were working on this problem knew nothing. It was, therefore, natural that the economists should take for granted not only that their assertions about man were true, but that these facts were, like those with which the men of science worked, hard, definite, and unalterable. They constructed a paper man and said, Thus is man and thus he will continue world without end.

They laid down four propositions upon the basis of which they purposed to solve the problem of labor: first, that self-interest is ordained of God; second, that there is a fixed fund out of which wages are paid; third, that pure competition is a blessed and essential thing; and fourth, that state interference with contracts between masters and men is the great bad.

Private interest, it was taught, is "the great source of public good." The economists congratulated themselves that the passion of self-love is so much stronger than the passion of benevolence. Benevolence they considered to be a most dangerous virtue, requiring for its proper exercise a perfect knowledge of cause and effect, and best left entirely to God. Let every man look out for himself and all will be well. It was a comfortable doctrine, which is devoutly believed to-day by those who insist upon the right of every man to conduct his own business in his own way, and by those who persuade themselves that the giving of expensive dinners is a help and encouragement to honest industry.

They said that there was an unchangeable wage fund, increased, indeed, by saving, and growing with the growth of wealth, but at any given moment standing at a certain absolute figure. To-day there is just so much money to pay out in wages. It is idle for the laborers to combine together to increase their pay; if they succeed their neighbors are the poorer for it. Wages are the result which is obtained by dividing this fixed sum by the number of the working population. The only way in which they can really be

increased is by diminishing that population. The trade-unions, therefore, and all other people who purposed to get the wage-earner a bigger handful of money at the end of the week, were fighting against a great and eternal law of nature. That is what they said, and Harriet Martineau wrote it down in pleasing and profitable tales for small children. But really that eternal law of nature was enacted only in the parsonage of Mr. Malthus and in the library of Mr. Ricardo. Nature had nothing to do with it whatsoever.

The principle of the blessedness of pure and unrestricted competition seemed the logical outcome of that passion for individual liberty which possessed the economists. It was deduced also from special cases. As they wrote they remembered instances of unjust and injurious limitation. There were the laws of settlement, which interfered with the mobility of labor, preventing working-men from going about the country to find work. There were corporation acts and statutes of apprenticeship, which hindered industry, keeping men out of employment. There were combination laws, which made successful strikes almost impossible. The notion prevailed that everything must be regulated by the state. The economists called for the repeal of these enactments one and all and demanded absolute freedom of contract. Every man should be free to dispose of his strength of arm and skill of hand just as he pleased. The inference, however, was a mistaken one,—as the economists at last found out,—that because some of the restrictions

upon competition were unwise, therefore there should be no restriction. The fallacy was in supposing competition to be always between equals. Men forgot that free competition between the strong and the weak is but a giving over of the weak into the hands of the strong.

Closely associated with this doctrine of free competition, amounting, indeed, to a restatement of it from another point of view, was the idea of the mischief of state intervention. The economists taught that the one thing that is needed in the world of industry is the repeal of law. Every attempt on the part of legislators to adjust or control or improve the arrangements of business is like the mischief of the small child who tries to mend a watch with a darning-needle. The Manchester school carried this theory into practical politics. They said that all that industry needed was to be let alone. If the existing laws regarding trade and labor could be done away, and no other take their places, the labor problem would solve itself. Let the law stay out; let the court mind its own business; the master and the man were quite capable of attending to their own affairs. Enlightened self-interest, free competition, and personal liberty would bring everything out all right. The error was in a mistaken estimate of the intelligence of average self-interest. It was assumed that the employer must of necessity treat his men well, because it is for his interest to do so.

The solution thus offered by the economists had one fatal defect: it was logical enough, the conclusions followed from the premises like a demonstration in

geometry, but the premises were false. The argument assumed a kind of human nature which ought, indeed, to be universal, but which is lacking in so many people that the doctrine which is built upon it will not stand. The economists did good. They got some bad laws taken off the statute-book. They set men happily free. But before their face and eyes evils went on increasing which, by their theory, they must not touch, and for which presently they became even the apologists. They fought hard against the Factory Acts; they opposed all that beneficent legislation which was meant to protect the working-man from the oppression of unjust employers; and they won in consequence the hatred of the common people. Political economy came to be thought of as the science of extortion, as the gentle art of grinding the faces of the poor.

The signal instance is the case of the employment of children in factories and mills. The machine had introduced into industry a new element; it had made it possible for women and children to do the work of men. Great factories were full of boys and girls who had been gathered up by the wagon-load from work-houses. The youngest of these, some not more than five years old, picked the bits of cotton from the flower, kept at their work by dint of kicks and blows. The average day's work for these children was fourteen hours, sometimes going on to fifteen, sixteen, seventeen. There were lace-mills in Nottingham where the children slept on the floor beside the machines so as to be ready in the morning. There were

silk-mills where little girls of six stood on stools to reach their work.

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as a deep sense of social injustice, as a belief that only by united action can the wrongs of men be righted, is born of the Christian religion and is in essence an endeavor to apply the Sermon on the Mount to common life.

It makes a great difference whether socialism is thought of as a program or as a principle. As a program it has often contradicted both good sense and good religion. It has seemed a menace to the state and to the church. It has proposed plans for the reorganization of society which would be undesirable if they were not impossible. It has contradicted human nature. Sometimes it has appeared as the herald of the deluge, proclaiming a clean sweep of all existing institutions in order to get a clear space in which to lay the foundation of the millennium. Again, it has been the advocate of dull monotony, the enemy of all that makes life interesting, the end of enterprise, and the death of progress, proposing to give this whole fair world a coat of whitewash. For this, however, the principle of socialism can be held responsible only so far as the New Testament may properly be faulted for the vagaries, the blunders, and the misdeeds of Christians. Many strange and mischievous things have been said and done in the name of socialism. It has been confused by some people with anarchy, which it resembles in theory no more than the Roman Catholic Church resembles the Congregationalists, and from which in practice it is as different as day from night. With dynamite and the dagger of the assassin the socialist has nothing to do. It has

been confused with communism, from which it differs in degree. The communists would have all things in common; they would abolish private property. The socialists would have in common only such industrial and social institutions as are necessary to the common life; they are opposed not to private property in general, but to private property in things which are essential to the public good; thus they would have every man own his house, but they would have no man nor group of men own the highway. Socialism has been confused also with the details of socialistic schemes, to which it is really in no just sense committed. These details are all experimental. The program differs in different places; it changes by subtraction and addition year by year; it grows with growing knowledge. Any part of it may be abandoned. Socialism is not a mold into which society is to be poured; it is not a program, but "a principle of social action." The word is compared to radicalism or to individualism, as denoting a point of view. Mr. Bliss, in his "Handbook of Socialism," gathering together a great number of definitions, resolves them into this: "Socialism is the fixed principle, capable of infinite and changing variety of form, and only gradually to be applied, according to which the community should own land and capital collectively and operate them coöperatively for the equitable good of all." Even this definition seems to have some of the program mixed up with the principle.

Keir Hardie, the English socialist, is asked, at the Twentieth Century Club in Boston, what are the best

popular handbooks of socialism, and he answers, "Merrie England," a little volume of radical socialistic teaching, and the New Testament.

For years, however, after the new fraternal impulse of the gospel, socialism slumbered and slept, shut in for the most part behind the doors of monasteries, awaking fitfully in the uprisings of John Ball and other leaders of the poor, but chiefly dreaming of ideal commonwealths, some of whose visionary outlines it tried to realize in the communities of Fourier and Owen. In 1848 John Stuart Mill published his "Political Economy." It was based upon the old individualism, but not with the old confidence. The writer was not so sure as his predecessors that human nature simply let alone will bring in the new heavens and the new earth. In his autobiography he declared himself a socialist. In that same year, when all England waited in terror to see what would come of the uprising of the poor in the matter of the People's Charter, when London was filled with soldiers, when all the public buildings were garrisoned as for a siege and barricades were built across the bridges, Kingsley and Maurice and Hughes and Ludlow were beginning a movement which they called Christian socialism. They declared that the teachings of the Manchester school were doctrines of the devil. They prayed to be delivered from political economy. Maurice maintained that the current individualism, if it were allowed to continue, would be "fatal to intellect, morality, and freedom." Kingsley said that "of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes

of the universe, the Cobden and Bright one was exactly the worst." Socialism as they used the word meant a fraternity of all men in the family of our common Father, the privileged were to minister to the unprivileged, character was to be the ideal rather than wealth or power, old barriers between classes were to be thrown down, men were to be educated. The new world was to begin with the organization of coöperative societies. The reformers were enthusiastic and full of confidence. They looked for the speedy establishment of their socialistic millennium. Carlyle brought his big batteries into action on their side and pounded away at the stout walls of the economists. Nevertheless, in 1853 the author of an article on socialism, in a French dictionary of political economy, stated that it was now possible to write the last word concerning that delusion. "Socialism," he said, "is dead; to speak of it is to pronounce its funeral oration."

Socialism in its present form may be dated from the time of our war for the Union, as the individualism of the economists is dated from the era of our war of independence. In 1862, in Berlin, Ferdinand Lassalle read his essay on the "Present Epoch of the World," which has been compared to the thesis that Luther put up at the church door in Wittenberg. In 1864, in London, under the influence of Karl Marx, the International Working-men's Association was established, and the new movement stood forth in the light of day.

The solution thus proposed for the problem of labor grew logically out of the new forces which have so

greatly affected both our industrial and social life. In the middle ages the ruling idea in society was paternalism. That was the natural thought of a time when the houses of the peasants were clustered about the castle of the lord. Then came powder and printing, bringing great political, religious, and industrial change, and the ruling idea became individualism. And now the times had changed again. Steam and electricity were making a new world. Men no longer lived or thought in the old way. Industry, which had before been agricultural, was now mechanical. The plowed ground was cut up into house-lots, and the city took the place of the farm. It was time for the ruling idea to adjust itself once more to the changed conditions. Socialism was in the air.

The new doctrine differed radically from the old. The new teachers were either men of the people or were thoroughly identified with the cause of the people. They had little in common with the respectable, staid, conservative economists, with Smith, the professor, and Malthus, the parson, and Ricardo, the fortunate financier of the Stock Exchange. Lassalle was a politician, Marx was the editor of a newspaper. Both were radicals and both were obnoxious to governors and capitalists. They talked revolution. They had to be suppressed with violence.

The socialists accepted the first article of the economist creed. They believed in the liberty of the individual. Some of them believed in it so heartily that they went off at a tangent in that direction and became anarchists; others believed in it so little that

they went off at a tangent in the other direction and became communists. But the great body held to it stoutly, only insisting that there is something better than the liberty of the individual, and that is the welfare of society; and also that the individual is not really free so long as he is not permitted by the social or industrial or political conditions under which he lives to make the most of himself.

They accepted the second economist proposition until they learned better—the doctrine of the iron law of wages; but they declared with much vigor of language that the industrial world in which that hard rule was a law of nature had better be destroyed, and some other fashion of conducting business put in its place whereby a common man might decently live.

Even competition was not altogether discredited. It was purposed, indeed, to put an end to industrial competition by vesting in the state all ownership of land and natural monopolies, so that those enterprises which concern the life of all the people shall be managed not in the interest of a few, but for the good of all. The purpose, however, was not so much to abolish competition as to change the sphere of its action. Socialists believe in the evolution of competition. It began, they say, with fists and clubs in the day when every man was a fighter and he was chief who could compel obedience by the swift argument of the hard hand. By and by that was outgrown or put down, and the struggle between individuals was subordinated to the struggle between tribes and nations. Competition became military; the world was filled with war.

To-day that ancient contention has for the most part changed into a rivalry not in battles, but in bargains. We live in the time of industrial competition. And now the socialists propose as the next step the restraining of the contention of the market, as we have restrained the ancient contentions of the gun and of the fist, in order that the emphasis of life may be put upon a new kind of competition, the competition of the mind. They would apply the new forces of machinery to such efficient and systematic doing of the daily work of the world that we might get it out of the way every morning by eleven o'clock, and thus be able to spend all the remaining time in the pursuit of literature and art and science. They would gain for people in general that blessed leisure which is now enjoyed only by a few. And some of them look even beyond this, to a day when the world will attain the ideal not only of the philosopher but of the apostle, and, all lesser competitions being left behind, will fulfil that great word of the Master when he said that he who would be chief among his brethren must become their servant.

The most evident difference, however, between the new school and the old was that which concerned the doctrine of the state. The socialists taught a new idea of the purpose of the state. Instead of doing nothing, it was to do everything. Instead of performing a merely negative function, and playing the part of night watchman to keep off thieves and robbers, it was to interest itself in a positive way in forwarding the universal welfare of man. It was to be responsi-

ble for the general health, sending out inspectors and enforcing sanitary laws. It was to regulate the hours of labor and the conditions under which men should do their work, and was to protect the weak against the greed and ambition of the strong. It was to provide for the decent housing of the people, for the lighting of the town, for the supply of water, for cheap rates of transportation, for the delivery of mails, and for the profitable use of leisure in the opening of public gardens and free libraries and museums and picture-galleries. It was to educate the children. Especially, and here the socialists made their characteristic proposal, the state was to be the sole owner of the land and of the means of production, the sole receiver of rent and payer of wages.

In order to the proper undertaking of these new duties, the state was to be made equivalent to all the citizens. It was no longer to be a group of persons in a vague and inadequate fashion representing the people and governing them by the issue of peremptory laws; it was to be the people governing themselves, every citizen having a vote, and any considerable company of citizens having the right outside of the assembly of their representatives to initiate legislation and to decide directly the great alternatives which concerned them all.

This was the solution which the socialists proposed for the problem of labor. It amazed and terrified a conservative people. The natural attitude of the English mind toward innovation, social or political, is illustrated by the fact that the appointment of the first

police was resented as a wanton interference with the liberty of the citizen, and that when the proposition was first made in Parliament to take a census of the nation the member for the city of York, speaking against the bill, said, "I did not believe that there was any set of men, or, indeed, any individual of the human species, so presumptuous and so abandoned as to make the proposal we have just heard. . . . I hold this project to be totally subversive of the last remains of English liberty."

The new teachers, accordingly, got from the English people small confidence and scant attention. They were regarded as irresponsible persons having more enthusiasm than judgment and more sympathy than sense. It was noted that few of the wise and none of the mighty were in their company. Mr. Mallock has pointed out that two elements are essential to the right conduct of modern industry: one is labor, the exertion by which a single man accomplishes a single task; the other is ability, the exertion which supplies the task and sets men at it and organizes business. Of the two, labor is with the socialists; ability is not even yet persuaded. The business man is not a socialist.

Nevertheless, socialism has made its way. Its specific solution for the problem of labor, the collective ownership of land and capital, is still, indeed, in process of debate, with no signs of its adoption. But the idea that the service of society is better than the service of self, and that those interests which affect the welfare of all should be administered not for private

gain, but for the public good, and that the wealth of the state is in the health and happiness of the people —this idea, which is at the heart of socialism, gains ground daily. As a principle of action, pure individualism is of the past, socialism is of the future.

The new spirit appears not only in the gradual development of such socialistic institutions as approve themselves to the good judgment of the people, whereof the post-office and the public school are examples, and not only in the gradual increase of the services rendered to the people by the city government, such as the supply of gas and water, but in the practice of profit-sharing, in the growth of trade-unionism, and in the establishment of boards of conciliation and arbitration.

Profit-sharing, indeed, is but a remote approach to the social idea of industry; it is rather paternal than fraternal. But it is a beginning made by the employer in the direction of industrial betterment; it is a recognition of the wage-earner as in an informal way, at least, a member of the firm and having an interest in the business. It is a plan which is easy to try, which involves no perplexed theories, which appeals both to the sense of justice and to the principles of good, profitable business, and which has been definitely proved to be worth while. It is the bridge by which to make a quiet passage from the old idea of men as machines to the new idea of men as men. The next step is taken when the share ceases to be a gift and becomes a part of the open contract. The next step after that is coöperation.

Trade-unionism is the endeavor of the men themselves toward industrial betterment. How elemental a fact it is in the world of industry appears by its persistent survival and increase. It has been opposed by the whole strength of law and of capital, yet it has gone on year after year gaining in power. To-day it is a factor which must be reckoned with in the problem of labor. Already thirty per cent. of the whole number of workmen in manufacturing and mechanical industries belong to some trade-union. The movement, which began with the skilled mechanic, is extending daily into every rank of labor. It is as impossible to stop it as it is to detain the rising sun. For worse or better, it is on the way, and the time is sure to come when every great mill in this country, as elsewhere, will be worked by men who will deal with the great corporation which employs them through their representatives in the union. The day is passing when the wage-earner stands, each man by himself, to present his grievance or to make his bargain. The working-man is more and more coming to see the necessity of organization for the keeping of his place in the world, and for the betterment of his condition. The attack of the employer upon the union, though it be occasioned, as it sometimes is, by the unjust dealing of the men, is taken by them to be an assault upon their liberties, upon their rights, and upon their hopes.

Little by little this great new force is entering into politics; that is inevitable. Men who know what they want, and who realize that by the possession of a vote

they are able to get it, will not long be satisfied with their empty allegiance to a party which has no special interest in them. The working-man is every day making his power more evidently felt in all our legislation.

It is interesting, accordingly, to know what the trade-union proposes, what solution it has for this problem which is of such intimate relation to itself; what does the working-man ask of the politician? The answer is definite enough. The trade-unions of England and America have put forth a program. It contains these ten propositions: 1. Compulsory education. 2. Direct legislation. 3. A legal eight hours' working-day. 4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and mill. 5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life. 6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work. 7. The abolition of the sweating system. 8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and power. 9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines. 10. The principle of the referendum in all legislation.

That is what the labor-unions want. Some of them would add the characteristic detail of socialism, "The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution;" but these are a minority. In these ten propositions the labor movement officially and definitely speaks. These it wants, not by violence, not without preparation, not all to-day, but some to-morrow and some the day after, as is best.

When the wage-payer shares his profits with his

men, and the wage-earner, educated and disciplined by the trade-union, takes his great part patiently and intelligently in the shaping of labor legislation, much will be accomplished. Things will be better than they are. At that time the employer and the employed will deal together as "independent equals." The medieval distinction between superiors and inferiors will be done away. The men will be as free as the manager to enter into whatsoever combinations for their interest seem best. Even under these fair conditions there will be serious differences to be adjusted. Therefore between the men in the office and the men in the mill stands the third institution to which the new ideas have given rise, the board of conciliation and arbitration. Such a board has for a good while had its place in England and already is officially established in this country in twelve States. Thus differences may be settled, like other disagreements between civilized beings, without fighting, without resort to the strike or the lockout; and questions may be determined not by greed and not by force, not even by compulsion, but by reason and justice and the spirit of fair dealing, with public opinion as a court of appeal.

V.

Socialism and individualism meet in the Christian religion. Each teaches the truth in part and needs the other. The one, carried to its logical extreme, would liken the kingdom of heaven to a heap of sand; the other would compare it to the surface of the ocean.

The Christian idea of society finds its illustration in the human body, with its many members vitally related, so that the welfare of all depends upon the welfare of each, every member having its own office.

Christianity introduces also a consideration which both economists and socialists have for the most part overlooked. No theory of social betterment will stand which assumes that the supreme need is a changed environment. The supreme need is a changed man.

After the economists had done their best and had got restrictive legislation out of the way, they found to their surprise that evil still remained; in spite of their theory, things went on getting worse daily. And after the socialists have done their best and have fairly established the blessed principle, "From every one according to his ability, to every one according to his need," and we all live in decent houses, and pay reasonable rents, and work three or four hours a day for good wages, even then, though the world will no doubt be a better world, it will be found that the millennium delays its coming. Though the trade-unions get their ten propositions translated into universal law; yes, and the eleventh also—still the problem of labor, which is the problem of life, will be found to be unsolved. Human nature must be changed. It can be changed in the case of the individual; that is the verdict of abundant experience. It can be changed also in the nation and in the race. Until that is accomplished, or is in full process of accomplishment, little is done. The regeneration of society waits for the regeneration of the individual. The better house, the

better pay, will help to make the better man; environment and character act and react, but the better man is essential.

The great thing that is needed, then, for the solution of the problem of labor is more religion. Labor and capital alike must be more honest, more patient, more self-sacrificing, and more brotherly—in a word, more Christian. Otherwise the best of social plans is but an elaborate machine which will not work for lack of steam. Christianity has sometimes failed to make men Christians. One reads with shame in the "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury" that the parsons gave him scant service and small encouragement. That, however, is due not to any fault of religion, but to the errors of those who mistake its meaning. There is but one power that can avail to gain for the working-man that which he ought to have, and to bring in the industrial millennium with peace, and that is the power of the spirit of Jesus Christ.

Applied immediately to the industrial situation, it will make people more considerate one of another. It is understood, for example, that the great difficulty in the matter of the early closing of shops is not with the employer, but with the customers. They do not think. It is plain also that one of the causes of the keeping down of the wages of sewing-women is the pursuit of bargains. People do not think. This garment of small price—somebody made it; what did she get at that rate for her work? Is that right? "Let there be worse cotton," said Emerson, "and better men." Let there be higher prices and better women.

Religion also will teach the right perspective; it will compel people to regard men rather than money. The trade-union does what it can to make life miserable for the man who wantonly cuts down wages to increase his profits. It proclaims a strike and makes instinctive confusion in his business. But the Christian conscience will do more than that. It will give the man no rest; it will destroy his peace and happiness until he makes amends. Thus Mr. Kidd declares that "the evolution which is slowly proceeding in human society is not primarily intellectual, but religious in its character"; and he points out the fact that the power of wealth, which formerly held the people in subjection and might still hold them if it would, is, on the contrary, "educating, enfranchising, and equipping its opponent in the struggle against itself." "All heart," he says, "is, in fact, taken out of its opposition; men's minds have become so sensitive to suffering, misery, wrong, and degradation of every kind that it cannot help itself."

The Christian religion, wherever it is understood, does more also: it not only makes men more considerate and more compassionate, but more fraternal. The purpose of it is to establish society upon a foundation of brotherhood. Under its influence men come to love one another. That is the way out.

The problem of labor depends for its solution upon the religion of Jesus Christ.

MORAL REFORM.

It is somewhat strange that at this time of day, after all the Christian centuries, we should be engaged in the anxious study of the problem of moral reform. The Christian religion, one might think, should have solved that long ago.

It must be confessed, however, that the problem is an uncommonly difficult one. As a personal matter standing across the way of our own ideals, we find it hard enough. The thorough reformation of our own selves tarries long, and lacks fulfilment, and sometimes puts us to despair. We ought not to expect that the amendment of society will proceed at a much more rapid rate.

The difficulty of the problem is mainly due to the presence in it of the unmanageable factor of the human will. After our knowledge is complete, and our ideal perfect, and our system of reform adjusted accurately, and we see with all openness of vision of what character we should be and by what road we may arrive at that high destination, the task is but begun. There remains the persuasion of the will. And when that is undertaken, immediately we arouse

that innate perversity by which he who knows very well that he ought to take the path to the right climbs the fence and makes his way through the woods to the left. St. Paul expressed it in his antithesis between the Spirit and the flesh.

✓ The worst thing about us is not what we do nor what we say, but what we are—not sins, but sin. It has driven saints into distraction and despair. When we are inclined to fault the church for its slow progress in bringing about the moral betterment of the world, we may properly reflect upon the tough and perverse material with which it has to deal, our own selves being examples.

I.

It is true, however, that the church has sometimes missed its opportunity on account of its interest in matters other than moral and related but remotely to the amendment of character.

Thus there was a time when the energies of Christians were chiefly devoted to the maintenance of accurate thinking. The great work to which the church devoted its attention was the formation of the creed. This work was undertaken partly by reason of a natural and right desire to determine the great doctrines of the Christian faith in order that they might be properly believed and taught, and partly because the men who were the leaders in that day were by temperament and education interested in philosophy and in the accurate statement of truth. It is interesting to

consider what a difference would have followed in the history of the Christian religion had the great and memorable councils in which the articles of faith were framed given the same time and enthusiasm to the promotion of moral reform. Had they considered chiefly the tremendous spiritual needs of the pagan world, had they deliberated, most of all, how to apply the gospel of Jesus Christ to their own lives and to the lives of their neighbors, had they declared that the worst heretic is he who follows the heresy of Cain, this world might have been made a better place to live in. It is not unlikely, however, that the good men of that day knew their own business.

The church passed out of the creed-making era into the time of institutions. Attention was now turned from the formulas of faith, which were considered to be stated with sufficient exactness, to the details of government. This also was a good work, and in it the church maintained its wise purpose of ministering to the people in the fashion best adapted to their interests and needs. The church, which had been made up mostly of Greeks, had now come to contain a majority of Latins, and the new leaders had the administrative genius which is the glory of that race. Thus the intellectualism of the East was followed by the institutionalism of the West. People now cared most for systematic arrangement, for the right definition of duties of officers, and for all the regularities of discipline and worship. Men were held in esteem in proportion to the ardor with which they devoted themselves to the ecclesiastical institution. It was a time for the making of constitu-

tions and by-laws, for the adoption and digestion of statutes, for the examining of credentials, for the gathering of money and estates and the erection of buildings, for the careful constructing of fences, for increase of power. The thing to do was to perfect a strong government. It was admirably done; it was worth doing. Religion was thus protected amid the tumults and revolutions and wreck of states by which the leadership of the world passed from the Latins to the Teutons.

That, at least, is what we try to think. All that vigorous pounding and hammering at creeds and churches contributed, we persuaded ourselves, to the real advancement of right religion. Thus did Christianity adapt itself in wise fashion to the changing situation and speak to men of different lands and different times in a tongue which they could understand.

It must be said, however, that the change was very great. It was a long way from Jerusalem to Corinth, and farther still to Rome. Jesus Christ, we can but think, would have seemed altogether out of place in the new surroundings; so plain a man was he when he lived for our example in the towns of Galilee, so simple in his manner, so direct in speech, caring so little for the form and pomp and power of his own time, caring so much for honest and fraternal living, we can hardly doubt how he would have addressed some who claimed the sanction of his name. Against the intellectualism and institutionalism of his time he made a protest so effective that the formalists and ecclesias

tics, in mere self-defense, took counsel together to put him to everlasting silence. And yet, after a few centuries, the ecclesiastics and the formalists are to be seen calling themselves his disciples and actually taking possession of the religion which he founded. The synod is the old sanhedrim in disguise.

It is interesting to speculate as to the progress of Christianity had it continued in the unconventionality of Jesus, and in his simple and religious spirit. What a change, for example, would have been made in history had Constantine been met as Jesus met the rich young ruler! If moral reform had been the purpose of the church as it was the purpose of the Master, if Christian people had devoted themselves as Jesus did to the great work of going about doing good, and had tried to be more kind, more loving, more intent on truth and right, more full of real faith in God, following his example, we might be living in the light to-day instead of looking in patient expectation for the dawn.

The creed is necessary, for life must be guided by conviction. Everybody has a creed. It is well, also, that men shall study to find out all they can concerning God and man, and shall set down the results of their research in orderly propositions in books of theology. The church, too, is natural and necessary. But the creed and the church are in their right place in the plan of life only when they exist to minister to righteous conduct. Orthodoxy is good, churchmanship is good, though both have hindered Christian truth and Christian life; but best of all is Christ-like character.

That is being understood to-day. The church to-day is made up mostly not of Greeks and not of Latins, but of that race which came down centuries ago out of the forests of the north and overthrew the empire of the Greeks and Latins. In this race, from its first appearance in history, has been a deep conviction of the supreme importance of right conduct. It has cared little for abstract philosophy; it has ever been impatient of elaborate administrative arrangements. It has preferred simplicity. It has chiefly desired to get things done, no matter how. It has kept a clear vision of the eternal difference between right and wrong. Through blunders beyond counting, and in spite of remoteness from its own ideal, which has been sometimes like the space that separates the fixed stars, it has continued to maintain that it is of supreme importance that a man shall do the thing that is right.

Thus we live to-day in a time when moral reform is a part of the logic of progress. The winds of heaven blow our way. That strong emphasis which Greek Christianity laid upon the creed and Latin Christianity laid upon the church, Anglo-Saxon Christianity will lay upon the betterment of conduct.

The moral reformer is naturally impatient. All reformers are. They want the millennium to-morrow. The moral reformer complains of the inertness of the church. It seems to care so little for the suppression of intemperance, for the defeat of impurity, for the plans of men who come with definite proposals. It stands aloof, saying its satisfied prayers, telling people Sunday after Sunday that they ought to be good,

preaching to regular congregations of respectable Christians, and building handsome sanctuaries in the places where they are least needed. The reformer assails the church with criticism and complaint, deserved and undeserved. Dr. Parkhurst, speaking of the relation between the Christian religion and the man in the slums, declares that the pot-house politician cares more for the man's vote than the church cares either for his vote or for his soul. ✓

Nevertheless, the problem of moral reform, which has never even in the worst times been absent from the heart of the church, is to-day claiming the attention of Christian people more and more. Morality was preached a hundred years ago—morality of a cold, calculating, individualistic sort. ✓ To-day it is preached as a social duty; it is taught in the spirit of Jesus, as the living of his life anew; it is distinctly religious—that is, there is love in it, and God in it, and the service of humanity. Theology, likewise, is brought into vital contact with the needs of man. Social science is taught in the seminaries, where men are preparing for the work of the ministry. The purpose of the church is understood in its social applications. It is meant for man. More and more the energies of the church are being directed away from the study of formulas, and from the enrichment of services, and from the building up of institutions, to the betterment of the daily life of men.

The need of moral reform is evident enough; it may be read every day in large capitals in the newspapers.

There is a noticeably low tone in much professedly respectable literature. Books may properly be taken as indicating the moral standards of the better people. Chaucer, for instance, to take a remote example, reflects his time. It is a matter of common observation that themes and situations which a few years ago appeared but rarely in English speech are now entering into reputable literature and may be read at all the book-stores. The new writers, who have already shown a very considerable frankness, venture a little further every year. The play-makers are in advance even of the novelists. It is now necessary to read the libretto before one whose taste is of the old-fashioned sort may safely purchase his ticket; even then he is quite likely to go away ashamed.

There are those who would tell us that this is but a sign of a general demoralization. They point to the alarming frequency with which men in responsible positions, and had in reputation by the community, are found to be dishonest; they cite the divorce courts; they argue from the disregard of law and the public good conspicuously displayed by great corporations and great newspapers; they bring to mind notorious instances of the bribery of legislators, of the corruption of the police, of the rascality of city rings; they quote at random from the daily papers. Some think that all this is helped on by gradual secularization of morals. The general standard of ethics, they maintain, is lower to-day than it was a dozen years ago. The line between the wrong and the right is not so clear; the public conscience is not so sensitive. We

are amused when our forefathers would have been shocked and indignant. It is reported by statisticians that during the past forty years crime has increased five times as much as population. It is plain, whatever our idea may be of progress and no matter how stout may be our confidence in the sure approach of the millennium, that the problem of moral reform is not only a difficult but a most serious and urgent problem.

Three solutions have been offered. The community will be made better, some say, by the punishment of the offender; others, by his reformation; others still, by the prevention of the offense.

II.

It was at first proposed to solve the problem of moral reform by punishment; the endeavor was made ✓ to scare men into goodness.

Thus it was taught in the church that "the wicked shall be turned into hell." The phrase is quoted from the Bible and is the expression of a great and terrible truth. Sin and penalty are assuredly bound up together. The law of the harvest holds good everywhere and always: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The priest put this into language understood by the people when he told the sinner that if he went on in his sin he would certainly fall into the bottomless pit; he would be burned for it, burned everlastingly.

The doctrine of everlasting punishment was at one

time a solace of the saints; they got a great deal of comfort out of it. Tertullian taught that one of the sweet satisfactions of heaven would be to walk in the cool of the evening along the crystal battlements, and look over into the fierce glow of the infernal dungeons and watch the kings and priests of false religions, the persecutors, the infidels and heretics, writhing in their endless agony. That, however, was a long time ago, and Tertullian has but an indifferent reputation.

Nevertheless, the doctrine continued to be taught. Everybody believed it. The Northampton farmers who clung fast to the backs of the seats to keep from sliding into the hot abyss which Edwards opened at their feet heard the words of the preacher as the truth of God. It is within our own generation that hell has lost its old place in the exhortation of the preacher.

The change can hardly be attributed to any new readings of the old texts, though such readings are familiar to scholars. It is likely that the proportion of the gospel is better seen to-day, and that men have learned that it is not well to lay a greater stress on any doctrine than was laid by Jesus Christ, or at least by the Apostle Paul. But the chief occasion of the new preaching is to be found partly in a keener sense than men had of old of the relation between cause and effect, partly in a kinder feeling that is to be found to-day in the hearts of men, and partly in a new conception of the position and the possibilities of the individual man. The fact of retribution, the certainty of future punishment, is in no way given up; but the material character of it is at present held by few, and

its unending duration is questioned by many, while as a factor in the problem of moral reform it has little part. After a great many centuries of experience in dealing with the human conscience, it has been found at last that men may be more readily persuaded than driven into goodness, and that the doctrine of the love of God finds those who were stirred only to rebellion by the doctrine of the wrath of God. Love and fear, as St. Paul taught at the beginning, do not go together.

Along with this ancient threat of endless misery hereafter there went a consistent endeavor to apply some of that misery immediately, here. The makers and administrators of the law held that public order could be best maintained by stress of punishment. The purpose was not so much to amend the character of the offender as to protect the neighborhood; the individual was not taken into account.

The simplest and primitive notion was that the man who had injured his neighbor should be paid back in good measure with his own coin; he should be made to suffer the same pain which he had inflicted, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. There was a rough justice in this operation which for a long time appealed to the good sense of men. It was not wholly lacking in the element of reformative instruction. It taught the offender the fact of the painfulness of pain. He learned thereby a prudence, if not a sympathy, which would incline him to think twice before he ventured again into a like offense. A survival of it is to be found to-day in that provision of the law whereby

transgressors are given over to punishment proportioned to the harm that they have done. The taking of the life of him who has taken the life of his brother is the frank acceptance of this old theory of retribution. Another illustration is that curious grading of crime and penalty by which he who steals a sum of money less than twenty-five dollars is given a certain sentence, and he who exceeds that amount gets a more heavy punishment. A distinction is also drawn between a misdemeanor and a felony; for one the punishment is measured by the month, for the other by the year.

It was found, however, as the race grew out of its earlier conditions and society became more complicated, that the endeavor to reform the community upon the homeopathic principle that like cures like did not accomplish what was wanted. Men did not, indeed, at that time feel, as we do now, that so indiscriminating a punishment, making scant allowance for provocation or for the character of the offender, could hardly be expected to accomplish any ethical purpose. They did not argue, as we do, that the amount of the thief's plunder may be wholly a matter of chance and may reveal nothing as to his relation to the welfare of the community. But they saw at least that there was injustice in it and that it gave rise to feuds without end; and it did not greatly hinder crime. It was felt, therefore, that the best thing to do would be to make men afraid to offend by such a punishment as should terrify the whole community. The transgressor should be made an example.

This theory took possession of the general mind and was worked out both in the state and in the church. Until recent times it has determined the penalties of the law and has filled the records of the courts with sentences of blood and horror. Offenses which were particularly objectionable to the community were visited with death, and the warrant was executed with every circumstance of cruelty which the imagination of men and devils could suggest. Malefactors were hanged, beheaded, pressed to death under gradual weights of lead, drawn and quartered, broken on the wheel, bitten of serpents, suffocated, thrown over cliffs, blown from the mouth of cannon. These extreme punishments were pronounced upon a great variety of transgressions. When William Penn arranged a penal code for his new colony he took the statute-books of England and drew his pencil through sentence after sentence, until only one crime remained out of some two hundred which at that time were punishable by death; but that reform was looked upon as dangerous folly. Few men had a disposition to abolish capital punishment even for thieves.

Together with this swift and final vengeance went a great number of lesser punishments. People were daily mutilated by the cutting off of their ears or cheeks or nose, or by the branding upon their foreheads of the letter which denoted their offense; others were flogged; many were imprisoned.

The difference between that time and this is graphically illustrated by an incident from the life of Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Man, early in the eighteenth

century. Dr. Wines tells the story in his book on "Punishment and Reformation," quoting from Hall Caine. Wilson was a man of saintly character. His little book of private devotions is still printed and is a present help to those who are trying to live a Christian life. I read in it this prayer: "Thou hast been all mercy to me, O Lord; grant that I may be so to all others." Yet the devout bishop punished a poor, half-witted, sinful woman in his diocese after this fashion. First he made her do penance in a white sheet at the church door. For a second offense he kept her for three weeks in his episcopal dungeon.

✓ That was a time in which a bishop had a prison as naturally as he had a palace. In the Bishop of Ely's prison men lay on the stone floor with spiked iron collars about their necks and iron bars across their legs. Bishop Wilson's prison was but a modest affair, as befitted the pastor of a small diocese. It lay beneath the cathedral choir, having over it the graves of generations of the dead; through its barred window came the sound of the sea. Into this dark, damp solitude the bishop thrust the woman, and for three weeks said his prayers daily in the church above her. After the third transgression "he ordered her to be dragged through the sea by a rope tied to the stern of a boat." That is what a Christian bishop did two

✓ hundred years ago with a quiet conscience, knowing no better way in which to meet his duty.

It is true that at that time Pope Clement XI. had already founded the Hospital of St. Michael at Rome, inscribing over the door, "For the correction and in-

struction of profligate youth, that they who when idle were injurious may when taught become useful to the state;" and writing in the hall, "It is of little advantage to restrain the bad by punishment unless you render them good by discipline." But the amendment thus begun tarried for almost a century. Everybody knows what a condition of things John Howard found. ✓

The prison a hundred years ago was a place of detention rather than of punishment. It was filled with unfortunate people who could not pay their debts and who by their imprisonment were deprived of all means of payment. Others were simply awaiting trial, sometimes for months, enduring meanwhile—the innocent with the guilty—sufferings which we do not visit to-day upon the most abandoned criminals. In few prisons was anything done either for the souls or for the bodies of offenders. The jailer made what he could out of them if there was anything to make, and left them to shiver and starve and rot and die of prison-fever. The prison was a suburb of hell.

And yet crime did but increase. The endeavor to solve the problem of moral reform by punishment, by making the malefactor an example to the community, proved a miserable failure.

III.

In 1778, in that wonderful day of change and revolution and beginning of things out of which so much has come which enters into our present life, the pen-

penitentiary was established in England. It was meant to be a place in which malefactors should be made penitent. Thus a new solution of the problem was undertaken. The attempt was now made to bring about the moral betterment of the community not by punishment only, but by reformation.

The first step was the reformed prison. Imprisonment now took its place as a recognized feature in the sentence of the court. With the new appreciation of the rights of man and the new emphasis on the individual which belonged to the time, the old, degrading, brutal punishments began to be modified and the penalty of death began to be restricted. Thus the prison came into a place of great importance. In the act by which the penitentiary was established the new ideas were stated. "It was hoped, by sobriety, cleanliness, and medical assistance, by a regular series of labor, by solitary confinement during the intervals of work, and by due religious instruction, to preserve and amend the health of the unhappy offenders, to inure them to habits of industry, to guard them from pernicious company, to accustom them to serious reflection, and to teach them both the principles and the practice of every Christian and moral duty." This was an admirable program. It has slowly affected all penal institutions. It still represents in the main the purpose and the method of the properly conducted prison.

It became evident, however, as the work went on that in order to the efficiency of the prison two things are necessary: first, that the prisoners be properly classified, and then, the reformatory influences being

thus brought to bear upon them, that they be kept under these influences until their reformation is effected. Classification and the indeterminate sentence are thus the second and third steps in this solution of the problem.

The classification of criminals is as yet but imperfectly accomplished, partly by reason of a lack of public interest due to inattention to the seriousness of the matter, and partly on account of the considerable expense which is necessarily involved. Nothing, however, is more certain than that the congregating of prisoners of different ages and terms of sentence, and of different degrees of experience in crime, can result only in grave peril to the community. Such a prison is a school in which daily instruction is given in iniquity. In many a penal institution the devil is head master.

The indeterminate sentence waits upon the improvement of the prison. It is applied at present chiefly in reformatories. The idea is that after we have prepared a proper prison we have but made a beginning; the next thing is to keep the prisoner in it till the work of reformation takes effect. He is to be discharged when he is cured, and not before.

The present method of distributing penalty is manifestly bad. In the police court it is sometimes a frank travesty of justice. It is an impudent and vicious contradiction of the needs of men. This pronouncement of instantaneous sentences, this dealing out of the same judgments over and over again with regularity to the same offender, affronts the good sense

and the conscience of the community. The first purpose of the indeterminate sentence is to secure justice. As the case stands at present, the fate of the offender is in the hands of the judge, and depends, therefore, upon the judge's character, prejudices, health, spirits, and digestion, even upon the state of the weather. An offender may receive a sentence before dinner; another offender of the same grade, charged with the same offense, may after dinner receive a sentence materially different. Thus justice is properly symbolized by a blind woman holding a pair of ill-balanced scales.

This case, for example, is cited by Dr. Wines. Two men are arrested, having been partners in a burglary. One of them is a new hand at the bad business and is thoroughly ashamed of himself. He determines to take his punishment, and then live an honest life thereafter. He gets three years. The other is better acquainted with the ways of courts and judges. He employs a lawyer. The case is skilfully postponed so that it comes before a better-natured judge. This man gets twelve months. The better of the two is punished out of all proportion to the worse. What will he do in those two extra years? Two years are a terribly long time out of a man's short life. It will be strange indeed if he does not spend them in reviling the society which is represented by such law; it will be strange if he does not come out worse than he went in, despising law and at odds with the unjust world.

That sort of thing goes on daily. Mr. Labouchère has a regular department in his paper in which he

prints in parallel columns the most vicious sentences of the preceding week : so much to the man who kicked his sick wife down two flights of stairs ; so much to the man who stole a one-pound note.

It is hard to see how this matter can be amended except by the indeterminate sentence. That means at present the pronouncing upon the offender of a minimum and a maximum term of imprisonment. He shall be kept in durance not less than such a number of years and not more than such another number. Thus he goes to be studied individually, to be treated scientifically, and, if possible, to be reformed.

For here comes in the second purpose of the indeterminate sentence, the effecting of reform. These people who stand before the judge are morally diseased, and the disease which has laid hold upon them is both virulent and contagious. It is sometimes, indeed, the result of their own folly or their own wickedness ; often, however, it is the result of their surroundings. It is the effect of living in a locality which is morally unsanitary. Any of us in their circumstances might be as they are. They are no more to be blamed for being thieves and malefactors than a sick man in a badly drained tenement is to blame for having typhoid fever. They simply cannot help it. Two things, evidently, are to be done. So far as they themselves are concerned, they are to be cured if possible. Many of them, as experience shows, can be saved to society. So far as society is concerned, they are not to be let out till they are cured. Every criminal at large makes other people criminals, menaces

the peace and welfare of the community, and is an expensive and a dangerous citizen.

Under these conditions, for the judge to sentence the offender to a certain term of confinement in a prison is as irrational a matter as for a health officer to sentence a cholera patient to a fixed term at the hospital. At the end of that time the cholera patient is to come out and go back into the neighborhood whence he came out, no matter whether he is cured or not; and the transgressor is to return and take his place in society, whether he is cured or not. It is absurd. The offender, under any sane arrangement, must be put in prison as in a moral hospital; he must be cared for so that he may recover. The supreme purpose is to save him to society and set him on his feet again. Until he is well enough to go out he must stay in.

Experience has abundantly shown that this manner of dealing with human beings helps them back to health. When the sentence is fixed the prisoner has no other purpose than to get through the intervening time as best he can and be discharged. He has no interest in his own reformation. The indeterminate sentence puts the prison key into his own hands. He knows that when he meets the situation, and applies himself to the tasks that are set him, and takes his share in the good work which society proposes to do for him, he opens the door into the free air. As a matter of fact, the indeterminate sentence is found to shorten the average term of confinement. Men who are evidently trying to do better are released on strict parole. Assurance is given by their friends that they

will be responsible for them, employment is secured, safeguards are thrown about them. In an encouraging percentage of cases the offender is actually and permanently reformed.

This care of the criminal after his discharge need not wait upon the adoption of the indeterminate sentence. It ought to be plain to the most superficial observer that to thrust out the offender at the end of his term with no provision for his future is a proceeding which contradicts the whole idea of reformation. Out he comes clad in a new suit of clothes and with a dollar in his pocket. What shall he do? Where shall he go? Honest men often find it hard enough to get a job. This man, with his bad reputation back of him, will find it hard indeed. Presently he goes to his old friends and his old ways. The good resolutions that he made he breaks; and seven devils enter in where one had residence before, and the last state is worse than the first. What else can be expected? If reformation is really the purpose of the prison it must follow the offender beyond the prison door. It will not do to put the patient out of the hospital into the street as soon as he can walk, and let him make the best of the situation. He will probably fall into a relapse which will be more serious than the disease. But that is what is commonly done at the gate of the prison.

IV.

It is well that offenders should be punished; that is nature's plan. A close connection must be maintained

between sin and its consequences. The way of the transgressor must be made hard. It is better still that offenders should be reformed. Punishment without reformation is of no avail. The best solution, however, for the problem of moral reform is that which proceeds along the lines of prevention. The purpose here is to get at the causes. Between the philanthropy of the fence and the philanthropy of the ambulance there is no alternative. All sane people must prefer the fence. It is very well to provide the ambulance to carry away those who fall over the cliff, but it is much better to build a good stout fence along the top to keep them from falling over. Even then the ambulance cannot be dismissed with safety. Inquisitive citizens will still crawl under the fence or climb over. It is plain, however, that punishment and reformation are both of them ineffectual so long as the temptations are unmolested which lead men into sin.

These temptations, so far as they concern the grosser evils which affect the moral life of the community, are due for the most part to the appetites of the body and to the love of money.

Bodily appetite is as old as the body. It is an elemental fact in the natural history of man. It is the common possession of the race. In the story of Eden our first parents are tempted by an appeal to the desires of the body. These desires are like most other elemental forces—like air and fire and water—in their perilous possibilities. Since the world began they have wrought mischief and made men miserable. From

the earliest beginnings of society young men and maidens have been offered up as living sacrifices upon the altars of Bacchus and of Venus.

Upon these appetites may be brought to bear the preventive influences of education. Some sin is due to ignorance. Fathers and mothers and teachers are responsible for it. Children ought to be taught to know the devil when they see him. The purpose of the school in the republic is distinctly ethical. It is established in order that we may be a better nation. It is rightly concerned in everything that has to do with the best life of the people. It is a place in which to teach good health and good morals as well as good grammar. The school-room, which is often as bare and unattractive as a ward in a congregate prison, may be adorned with casts and pictures opening wide windows into the great world. Regard may be had, in the employment of teachers, to the personal influences which they are likely to exert upon the growing citizens. The children may be given not only a better understanding of the dangers of life, but a keener appreciation of its high opportunities.

Many people live upon a low moral plane because they are not interested in that which is worth while. They think mean, low, debasing thoughts because they have nothing else to think about. They are oppressed and kept in subjection by the monotony in which their days are passed. The morning brings no expectation, and in the evening there is nothing worth remembering. One day is like another; they eat and drink and work and sleep, like animals. What they need is the

regenerative influence of a new idea. When a social settlement or a live church moves into the neighborhood, and the boys and girls are persuaded into all sorts of interesting clubs, and the mothers go to meetings and hear astonishing things, and the fathers are got together to discuss ward politics from a new point of view, and lectures and music and pictures and the real life of the good world invade the shabby street, it is amazing and most encouraging to see how the place is changed. The bad is driven out little by little, not by attack upon it, but simply by the expulsive influence of the good, as the snow betakes itself away before the sun.

Much of this educative work, however, is sure to come to nothing by reason of the counteraction of a bad environment. The seed may be sown with all diligence, yet the growth of it depends upon the soil and the rain and the sun; and when the soil is weak, and there is a cold rain every day, and no sun, it is idle to expect much of a harvest.

Immorality is largely due to an unhealthy condition of the body. It is evident that there is more drunkenness among the poor than there is among the rich. This is partly the result of a different social standard, partly the effect of living in narrow, ill-ventilated, and crowded quarters, so that the saloon is the only comfortable place men have to go to. Badly prepared food has also something to do with it. The cooking school may properly be set down among preventive agencies. So long as these conditions exist moral evil is sure to continue with them. The temperance meet-

ing and the signing of the pledge and the assault upon the saloon are all good in their way, but they touch only the surface of the trouble. Intemperance and its allied vices will go on and increase so long as the predisposing conditions are unchanged. The fever patient may make a hundred promises and sign a hundred pledges never to have the fever any more, but if he goes on living where the poison which makes the fever comes in at every window all these good intentions will be of none effect. It is idle to expect any great reformation of the slums without changing the slums.

In the meantime, however, it is necessary to do something about the saloon. It is a mistake, I am afraid, to imagine that presently men will cease to drink. It is evident, at least, that the habit is seated deep in human life. It is almost as old as eating. It is as wide-spread as the race. It is plain enough, whatever may be our idea of the drinking of wine in the kingdom of God, that the bottle and the glass will continue to be made and used for a great many years. It is well to have a high ideal and to keep one's self turned toward the future, but the reformer must take the actual present into account and must deal with men and women as they are. The reformer himself, by reason of this habit of dealing with a world which he has constructed in his study rather than with the real world that goes on out of doors, has sometimes been a hindrance in the path of his own plans.

Prohibition as a preventive method for the city is open to serious criticism. Local option is a more rea-

sonable arrangement. A country town, or the suburb of a city, or certain wards within the city, may by vote of the citizens put the saloon out; but there has already been experiment enough to show that in a considerable city, under present ordinary conditions, prohibition does not solve the problem. It is an excellent ideal, but it belongs at the end rather than at the beginning of a series of changes; and to attempt to force it suddenly upon a community which is not ready for it is an experiment which can end only in disaster. At present the evil which is represented by the saloon will not be best amended by the total closing up of that pernicious business.


The saloon ministers to a need of human nature. The thing to do is to meet that need. The saloon will most effectively be put away not by abolition, but by competition. What is really wanted just now, until a longer step can be taken, is a better saloon. Men must have a place in which to meet. So long as the door of the saloon is the only one that swings on hospitable hinges out of the street into a place of light and warmth and democratic welcome, just so long will the saloon hold a necessary place in the constitution of society. The coffee-house is not a sufficient rival. There is a pious and paternal air about it which offends the taste of the neighborhood. It is rightly suspected of a missionary purpose. It is a net which is spread in plain sight of the bird. People who go to it lose their standing in the society of the street. It is not half so attractive as the saloon. Coffee, in comparison with the sparkling beverages of the bar, is

but a tame and unenlivening drink, and the company is rather dull. Perhaps under these conditions an honest saloon, selling pure liquor, providing amusing but decent entertainment and a good deal of it, conducted by sensible men with a sincere regard for the best interests of their customers, not willing to get rich at the cost of the happiness of anybody's home, and making no sign of offensive piety, might be of use.

The worst feature of the twin vices which assail the morals of the community is their connection with money. If they were left to the natural patronage of appetite they would be bad enough, but not nearly so bad as they are now. They are skilfully and persistently maintained and furthered as a business. It is reported that during the past twenty years the consumption of alcoholic liquor per capita in this country has more than doubled. That increase has gone on in spite of the uncommonly energetic and more than usually successful efforts of temperance societies, in spite of a great addition to the number of total abstainers, and in the face of a notable change in public opinion. The time was when the decanter stood on every sideboard and the habit of social drinking was practically universal. Great ecclesiastical occasions in New England, such as the ordination of the minister, were celebrated in a convivial fashion such as has long since passed away. In 1681 the Rev. Thomas Thacher, first minister of the Third Church in Boston, wrote in his diary, "This daye the Ordination Beare was brewed." It is recorded that "as late as 1825, at the installation of

Dr. Leonard Bacon over the First Congregational Church in New Haven, free drinks were furnished at an adjacent bar to all who chose to order them." Together with these notable changes in the social standard of behavior, there has gone also a considerable improvement in the laws relating to the sale of liquor. Much attention has been given in a number of States to this kind of legislation. The labor-unions, moreover, and the Roman Catholic Church, influencing a multitude of people, many of them peculiarly exposed to the temptation of drink, have formally and informally put forth opinions and decrees against the saloon. Nevertheless, in the face of all these amendments, the amount of strong drink annually consumed in this country is doubled within a generation. Evidently some mighty adverse influence is working against these good endeavors. It is the influence of money.

Saloons are built and stocked and managed and multiplied not to minister to the normal thirst of the community, but to increase it for the purpose of making money. The saloons are largely in the hands of great corporations, makers of the fiery stuff which they retail, and are established for the purpose of creating a better market. Their doors are open for the purpose of cultivating as well as satisfying the appetite for drink. Every sort of attraction is enlisted to persuade men in. They are amused and fed; everything is done, once they are in, to get them to drink much and often and to contract the habit. That makes them steady customers. It is the devil's busi-



ness. It means ruined lives and desolated homes and broken hearts, and the men who are in the business know it. But it also means money; if there was no money in it they would go out of it to-morrow. The talk about the poor man's beer which confronts the enforcement of the Sunday laws is flat hypocrisy. What is of interest in the matter is the poor man's dime and a great many of them, and nothing else.

The temperance reform, therefore, which will accomplish its purpose must be directed not only against the appetite of the drunkard, but against the greed of the dealer. The legislation which will do the most good will be that which removes the element of gain to the remotest distance from this business. The system of high license has for its chief advantage the minimizing of disorder. It reduces the number of saloons, makes the saloon a more decent place, and enlists the saloon-keeper in the interests of law. When the proprietor knows that a serious complaint against his establishment may forfeit his expensive license, he will exercise some natural care over the decorum of the place. But the incentive of gain is in it still. The saloon-keeper must make up for his heavy tax by an increase in his trade. There is also an element of monopoly in this arrangement which displeases the fair-minded citizen. He questions the justice of putting the means of wealth into one man's hands and arbitrarily refusing them to his next neighbor. Some also object, with reason, to the using of this drink money for the purposes of government. The worst feature of it, however, is that it is still a business carried on

for gain and in the hands of men who have an interest in increasing it.

The plan that is in successful operation in Norway offers itself as meeting this particular difficulty. The Norwegian system recognizes the fact that men will drink. It proposes to give them all the opportunity to drink that decent people can properly demand; but it provides that the men who sell the liquor shall have no personal interest in the sales. It takes out of the business this whole pernicious element of financial temptation. To this end the government itself assumes the business. It intrusts it under strict control to a company of public-spirited citizens. This company receives a proper percentage on its investment, the earnings being turned over to the state. These earnings are applied to the establishment and maintenance of hospitals for inebriates, to the providing of coffee-houses and like places of democratic entertainment, and to the employment of the police. That is, the money which is derived from the traffic in drink is applied to the repair of the evils wrought by drink and to the prevention, so far as is possible, of the appetite for drink. The liquor is pure and the salesmen are given a stated salary; nobody is interested to increase the business. This plan does not, indeed, remove the incentive of appetite, but it does remove the incentive of gain.

The strong influence of gain must be taken into account also in the problem of the disorderly house. Objection is made by good people to the enforcement of the present laws which direct the breaking up of

these establishments. It is represented with much apparent reason that such a method, scattering dangerous persons about the neighborhood, would be a menace to the community. It is even desired by some to give this vice the sanction of the law in order that it may be the better confined to recognized localities. For in spite of the railroad and the telegraph, we are but slow to learn from the experience of others. That plan has done no good. Even the protection of the public health, which was contemplated in it, has not been attained; and the consequences which follow by the appointment of God upon the breach of his commandments evade the police and the physician and visit their appropriate retribution upon the transgressor.

The disorderly house means money; that is the strength of it. If it can be protected by regular course of honest law instead of being protected by the bribery of the police it will mean more money. So long as it is a fruitful source of revenue it will be maintained; there are plenty of people who will use every effort to increase the business. Thus the number of houses and the number of tenants will be greater. Customers will be systematically attracted. The ruin of body and soul will go on because it pays. It is absolutely essential, then, to include in any preventive measure such provision as shall tend to make the disorderly house a precarious financial investment. That will strike at the heart of it. The assertion that it is necessary for the protection of respectable society that this evil should go on is but an endeavor to de-

ceive. The sole purpose for which these places are maintained is to make money at the expense of the health, the happiness, the character, the bodies, and the souls of men and women.

Against these evils we need the preventive influence of law. If the present laws against the disorderly house were accurately enforced, and if new ones were passed permitting any town so desiring to try the Norwegian plan against the saloon, a great many people would be turned out of business. Then what would happen? When these propositions are made the compassion of the community is easily aroused. What will these poor people do? The answer of all past experience, the result of similar sharp reformation in the affairs of the mendicant, is that a very considerable number of them will return into the ranks of honest industry. They will become a help rather than a hindrance. It will happen to them as to the six thousand able-bodied paupers of Sussex whom the reformed poor law reduced in two years to one hundred and twenty-four. It has been proved over and over again that to make compromises with evil serves but to increase the evil. Better that there be suffering than that a traffic be permitted to continue which destroys homes and breaks hearts more and more, year after year.

Law, however, is of small avail as a preventive unless it has behind it the strength of public opinion. To be effectual it must be enforced by the people. Moral reformation is therefore needed not only by the offender, but by the whole social order. It may prop-

erly begin, after the excellent program of the old prophets, at the house of God. Lawyers and judges, employers and landlords, must be converted to the Christian religion; the owner and the editor of the daily paper must have a sense of responsibility for the morals of the town such as they rarely show at present.

Yet, after all is done, the problem of reform can be solved only by the offender himself. The idea that men can be driven into goodness, or that they can be washed and dressed and fed and housed into goodness, or that they can be transformed into decent citizens merely by locking the doors of temptation, is a mistake. All these things help, but the great thing is to get at the man himself. There is only one influence that has ever really succeeded in doing that, and that is the influence of the religion of Jesus Christ. Explain it as we may, the fact is beyond question. He who came to save sinners is still saving sinners. Many a man low down, the companion of malefactors and the disciple of the devil, who had lost the respect of his friends and of himself, has somehow lifted up his head, and taken a new start, and got out into the light, and become a man. That is what religion does. Because it is doing it and means to keep on doing it there is hope that we may see the solution of the problem of moral reform.

THE CITY.

WHEN the corner of the house fell down before a gust of wind the owner brought the contractor before the magistrate. The fact was not to be denied, the new house had a broken corner; but the contractor blamed the mason.

The mason, being summoned, admitted that he might have made a blunder in the laying of a stone or two at that corner of the house, but pleaded in extenuation that as he was in the act of setting that course in position there passed along the street a young woman in an uncommonly blue dress, and he looked away from his work a moment, as was most natural, to gaze after that azure garment and its wearer.

The judge, therefore, discharged the mason and sent for the girl in the blue dress. The girl did not attempt to deny that her dress was blue, but she declared that if anybody was at fault it was the dyer.

So the dyer was dragged into the court. Had he or had he not dyed the dress into that dazzling tint of sky and sea? Was he or was he not responsible for that garment thus deeply, darkly, and beautifully blue? In reply to these questions the dyer was forced to confess his guilt. He was accordingly sentenced to

be hanged in the front doorway of the house with the broken corner.

But the end was not yet; the police officials who were charged with the dyer's fate came hurriedly back and reported to the judge that it was impossible to carry out the sentence: the dyer was too long for the doorway.

"Very well," answered the magistrate, who by this time had grown weary of the pursuit of impartial justice; "go find some other dyer and hang him."

We are in search of causes. It is plain that our social problems cannot be permanently solved until we get at the conditions out of which they grow. Somebody is to blame; that is evident enough. But when we would put our hand upon the offender another stands behind him and the quest goes on. Sometimes the student, like the magistrate, grows perplexed and weary and is contented with the easiest answer. Sometimes he thinks that there is no solution, except that which was offered in the beginning by the gate of Eden, when the man laid the blame upon the woman, and the woman laid the blame upon the devil. Indeed, in the last analysis it does come back to that. Looking, however, for some speedier remedy, the student comes to the conclusion that the millennium delays its advent not for one reason, but for many. Indifference and doubt, the temptations of poverty, and the inequalities of labor, and the perplexities of moral reform, must all be met. There is no panacea; there is no patent medicine for the ills of the troubled world. Thus one begins to understand the wisdom of

the philosopher who said that when, in the course of debate upon the problems of society, somebody proposes a complete and immediate solution, the only motion which is properly in order is a motion to adjourn.

I.

In this pursuit of causes we come upon the problem of the city. The city is a new fact; the problem of the city is a new problem.

A hundred years ago not more than one person in thirty of our population lived in a town of eight thousand inhabitants; fifty years ago the proportion had risen to one in twelve; to-day it stands at one in four. In England in the thirties, when the Reform Bill was passed, there were one hundred and seventy-eight municipal corporations; since that time one hundred and twenty-five new ones have been added. In other countries, on the continent of Europe, a like rapid increase has been going on. The German town, for instance, multiplies itself by two every five years. The new city has grown like a weed—a comparison which may suggest not only the rapidity of the process, but the result.

This great growth our grandfathers did not so much as dream of. They did not, indeed, set a wall about the city, as was the medieval fashion, determining its completed size, but they constructed streets of such scant width, and on a plan so modest, and with twists and turns so many, that it is plain that no idea entered even remotely into their minds of the popula-

tion which should sometime push and elbow its difficult way between the shop-front and the curbstone. When the old New Yorkers built their city hall, the hewn stone of the imposing front was changed in the rear to a cheaper material, the idea being that the back walls would always look out toward the woods. There is said to be an order among the ancient records of the town of Boston that a road should be built as far as Newton, but no farther, since men were not likely to make frequent journeys to a greater distance into the wilderness.

The problem of the city is, accordingly, unlike some other elemental perplexities at which the race has been working these many centuries, making slow progress. It belongs to us; it has come into being within the memory of men still living. The present relation between man and the city has no precedent in the past. The new city was made by machinery. Its Romulus was James Watt. Steam and electricity have made it what it is.

Nevertheless, the problem is sufficiently complicated. Given a hundred thousand people and a few square miles of land, find how the conditions may best be made to minister to health, to character, and to happiness. Whether regard is had to the mechanical or to the social difficulties of the matter, either way it is crowded with perplexity. Simply as a chapter in the art of living with others, it is hard reading. And the student is able presently to appreciate the wisdom of Pope Pius IX., who was accustomed to ask visitors, "How long have you been in Rome?" If they said,

"A week," he would answer, "Ah, then you have seen Rome." If they said, "A month," he would answer, "Ah, then you have begun to see Rome." But if they said, "A year," he would take them by the hand and say, "Ah, then you have found out that you can never see Rome."

While it is true, however, that the problem of the city waits for its complete understanding and solution until the city itself shall surrender its charter and become a ward in the city of God, it is the blessed fact that a considerable part of the solution has been gained already. In Great Britain and on the continent of Europe the difficulties which chiefly confront us here have long since ceased to exist, and the city is administered by the people and for the best good of the people.

There was a time, considerably less than a hundred years ago, when the English city was as bad as ours. It was, of course, much smaller than the usual municipality to-day; but it was as stoutly held in the grip of a ring as is any unhappy town in this land of the free and home of the brave, and since it was so small, the ring was stronger than the town. The city ring to-day knows very well that the citizens, if they will, may turn the politicians out of doors, and it is therefore compelled by common prudence to administer affairs in such a fashion as to prevent a general rebellion. But in England it was not so. The English towns had been governed from medieval times by men who in a rough way represented the people. They were chosen by the trade-unions or guilds, to which

all respectable, industrious citizens belonged. Gradually the little company of administrators made themselves a close corporation, choosing their own successors. Presently the council ceased altogether to represent the citizens. In many instances its members were not even residents of the city. There were councils which belonged body and soul to this or that thrifty capitalist or politician, who had purchased them as a good investment in order that he might thus turn to his own purposes the public funds, the common property of the citizens, the collections of the taxes. This was a ring of the completest kind. It was an Old Man of the Sea sitting on the neck of the town. The councilors took not the smallest interest in the welfare of the place. All that they wanted was to get what they could out of the helpless citizens.

Dr. Albert Shaw has described the condition of things which prevailed in the industrial towns of England before the Reform Bill of 1832. "Improperly constructed tenements," he says, "were hurriedly provided to house the working population, and the evils of overcrowding were beyond belief. These structures teemed with human life from cellar to garret—one family, two families, even three families in a single room being common. The mortality became a fearful thing. Epidemic diseases could not be controlled, and cleanliness, which was no part of the habits of the people, was under the circumstances in any case a physical impossibility. The streets were abominable. There was almost nothing to break the monotony and meanness of the domestic architecture.

Efficient common services of water, drainage, or illumination were, of course, wholly lacking. Religion lost its hold, except as Methodism came partly to the rescue with an uncurbed enthusiasm that seemed to fit the conditions of the people. Drunkenness, prize-fighting, dog- and cock-fights, such were the prominent diversions. There were no schools worth mentioning, no libraries, almost no civilizing agencies whatever." Mr. Green, in his history, draws the same picture: "There was no effective police, and in great outbreaks the mob of London or Birmingham burned houses, flung open prisons, and sacked and pillaged at their will. . . . Gin-shops invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny or dead drunk for twopence." Even the church seemed to have forsaken the hopeless field. Hannah More found "but one Bible in the parish of Cheddar, and that was used to prop a flower-pot."

Yet out of all this pandemonium of neglect and misgovernment and iniquity the English towns were rescued. In spite of all the oppositions of law and money, in the face of stalwart selfishness and vested interest, reform went on like the magnificent boulevards of Baron Haussmann through the crowded tenements of Paris. The ring gave way. People felt in those days, as we sometimes feel to-day, that, while the ring is not to be interpreted in its municipal connection as the symbol of perfection, it is still the symbol of eternity. They had for the most part settled down to the conviction that as things were, so would they continue to be forever. It seemed impossible to amend the vicious situation. Nevertheless, it was amended.

II.

Dr. Shaw, in his two books on municipal government, has taken two notable cities, one in Great Britain and the other on the Continent, as good examples of what a city ought to be. The British example is Glasgow; the continental example is Paris. In these places the problem of the city is being solved.

Glasgow is a self-made town. By its own enterprise in deepening the shallow channel of the Clyde it changed itself into a seaport. Thus it is neither hampered by obstructive traditions nor restrained by overmuch timidity. The people know that when they unite to set the shoulders of the town under a burden they can lift anything. They have proved their strength by victorious experience.

In 1750 Glasgow had twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Its present population is eight hundred thousand. The city is divided into twenty-five wards, each of which is represented in the municipal government by three members. These members are not selected necessarily from the districts which they represent. The purpose is to get the best men who can be had without regard to artificial boundaries. This at once raises the whole standard of aldermanic character. The councilors are men known and respected by the whole community. The idea that residence on a certain street qualifies a citizen to transact the business of the city is altogether put away; it has no place in English municipal politics anywhere. Men are chosen for their fitness to do administrative work.

Councilors who approve themselves as competent and efficient are reëlected year after year. The principle of "rotation in office," which rests upon the notion that a public office is a reward conferred on men who have distinguished themselves for their valor in the campaigns of party politics, is naturally discredited when the citizens begin to understand that the affairs of the city are a business and must be conducted upon business principles. There is no more rotation in office in the improved city than there is in a mill. When the people get a good man they have the good sense to keep him. In New York the superintendent of the Board of Health, together with the counsel to the board, men who by an experience of more than twenty years have acquired special, expert, and technical ability for the performance of those important municipal services, are informed that their places are wanted for political purposes, and are made to vacate them at an hour's notice. That does not occur in Glasgow.

In the election of councilors the slums are practically disfranchised. The vote is cast by householders, that is, by people who have actual interest in the city by fact of settled residence.

The representatives thus intelligently chosen constitute a committee to carry on the business of the city. The contention of some municipal reformers that the mayor should have a great deal more power in our cities than he has at present gets no encouragement from the example of the best-governed English cities. The tendency of municipal administration is to make

the mayor little more than the president or chairman of the committee of councilors. In Glasgow the office is an honorable rather than an arduous or influential one; the mayor presides as representing the city upon great civic occasions. The councilors are divided into standing committees upon the various departments of municipal affairs. The heads of these departments are experts, carefully chosen and reasonably sure of their positions during good service. Thus the people are able to locate responsibility; if things go wrong they know whom to blame.

Accordingly, the one hundred and eighty miles of Glasgow streets are swept every night by horse machines, followed by removal carts. Along the main thoroughfares iron boxes, sunk in the pavement every forty yards, serve as receptacles for common litter. A small army of boys is perpetually at work. Every house has its garbage bucket. The garbage carts are driven to a central station, where their contents are sorted. Ashes are mixed with the refuse, and it is sold for fertilizing. The unusable part is burned with the cinders sifted from the ashes.

The city maintains two extensive and elaborately equipped epidemic hospitals. In connection with these are sanitary wash-houses and a staff of disinfectors and whitewashers. Seven model lodging-houses are a source of revenue to the city as well as a contribution to the order and welfare of the people. There are five public baths, with wash-houses attached, where for five cents a woman can do her family washing and have it dried and ironed by machinery.

Glasgow offers an instructive illustration of the possibilities of the city in regard to its street-railways. When the rails were laid, in 1870, they were leased to a company upon a contract whose terms should be of much interest in towns where the public streets have been presented to private corporations with the aldermen's kind regards. It was agreed by the company, in consideration of a lease terminating in 1894, to pay the city "the annual interest charge on the full amount of the city's investment; a yearly sum for a sinking-fund large enough to clear the entire cost of the lines at the expiration of the lease; a renewal fund of four per cent. per annum on the cost of the lines, out of which they were to be kept in proper condition and restored to the city in perfect order and as good as new in 1894; and a yearly rental of seven hundred and fifty dollars per street mile."

All this was fully met, and the company desired to renew the lease; but a difference arising over certain new terms proposed by the city, the municipality took the matter into its own hands, erected new premises, purchased new equipment, manned the lines, and, together with these great expenses, materially reduced the fare; and yet, in spite of the competition of the former company, who ran a great number of cabs in opposition to the cars, the city is carrying some two million more passengers a month than the company did, and after paying interest and working expenses and cost of maintenance, there is a very considerable balance in the city's favor.

Dr. Shaw's other pattern city is Paris. The new

Paris began with the Revolution. The pulling down of the Bastille was the first step in a remarkable series of demolitions whereby a narrow, crowded, dirty town of crooked streets and blind alleys and poisonous slums has been transformed into the radiant city that we know to-day. This, it is true, has been accomplished by the exercise of strong authority, and represents rather the wisdom of a court than the enthusiasm of a people, but it has awakened a loyalty to the city on the part of the citizens such as makes them ready for all new enterprises and is the best safeguard of the municipality against bad government. To make the city more beautiful, to increase its service to the public welfare, is the passion of the Parisians.

The new Paris has instructed Europe in the art of municipal administration. It has been the example of the new city in all that part of the world. Certain features of its management, it is true, are not ideal. It has two mayors, the prefect of the Seine and the prefect of police, and neither of them is elected by the people. They are directly responsible to the Minister of the Interior. The position of Paris as the seat of the government of France greatly affects the situation. National politics enter into its domestic questions. The council too, which consists of four members from each of the twenty wards, instead of being elected according to the new way, from men known to the whole city, is chosen on the American plan, the members having actual residence in the wards which they represent. Thus the council is mostly made up of such average and mediocre persons as come naturally into

it under that condition ; it does not contain the most efficient citizens. Nevertheless, Paris is admirably governed, and it is doubtful if a change would at present be an improvement. A thorough system of civil service, carried into all the departments of the city, removes the municipal business from the entanglements and transitions of politics. And the council has no privilege of originating schemes for the spending of the city money ; its financial function is to vote aye or no upon the budgets of the executive officers.

In Paris the gas company which has the general contract of the public illumination is under agreement to supply its private customers at a rate not to exceed a certain fixed maximum ; and it pays the city a considerable annual sum for the right to use the streets, and a regular tax upon the gas which it produces. The city, accordingly, not only gets gas at cost price for all its streets and public buildings, but has received from the company during the past ten years no less than forty millions of dollars.

The streets of Paris are kept clean. Every foot of them is diligently swept every morning between four o'clock and half-past six, many places being scrubbed and disinfected. The garbage cans are collected every day. The sewers are subways for water-pipes, telegraph and telephone wires, and pneumatic tubes for the collection and distribution of letters. There are no overhead wires in Paris. A special commission of experts—physicians, engineers, and architects—has in charge the renovation or removal of unsanitary dwell-

ings, with discretionary powers. A municipal laboratory, employing the best-trained chemists, is engaged in the continual testing of articles of food exposed for sale in the markets, of wine, and of milk. There are free bureaus of employment throughout the city, and a central labor exchange, provided by the municipality, in which all the trade-unions of Paris have their headquarters. Municipal pawnshops offer the poor a means of getting money without exposure to fraud and extortion.

Special attention is paid to the children, in whom the wise city recognizes the citizens of the near future. Two hundred free kindergartens receive little ones under six years of age; provision is made for the good care and entertainment of those whose parents are at work, so that after school they may be kept till called for. Physicians to the number of a hundred and fifty make their regular rounds to all the public schools to watch for cases of contagious disease, to care for children who need medical attention, and to see that the sanitary arrangements are in right condition. At the public playgrounds directors of sports are employed by the city to teach new games and to lead the children in their play. School camps and colonies in the country in the summer receive great numbers of invalid poor children at the expense of the city, and fresh-air outings are in progress during all the pleasant weather at the public cost. Technical schools and classes in the arts are maintained with great care, that the young citizens may be there trained to be of service to the city.

The idea is that the city government is charged with the welfare of the people. Nothing that concerns their pleasure or their profit is accounted out of place in the administration of municipal business. The city is managed like a private club, the purpose being to minister to the convenience, the comfort, and the satisfaction of the citizens. It is kept scrupulously clean, like a good club-house; it is maintained in constant repair, like a good club-house. The service is prompt, polite, and efficient. The place is made attractive. The problem of the city with us is, for the most part, how to get rid of a company of people who have taken possession of the offices in order that they may enrich themselves. What we are trying to do is to turn out the men who are mismanaging the municipal club, who take our membership fees—in the shape of taxes—and in return do as little for us as they dare. The problem of the city among our neighbors over the sea is how to contribute more efficiently to the health, the morals, and the happiness of the people.

Once in our own country we had a glimpse of the ideal city. It stood beside the lake at the World's Fair. It was wonderfully clean. The roads were kept like the avenues of a gentleman's estate. It was arranged and equipped at every point for our convenience. There were places where tired people could sit down and rest along the way; there were abundant lavatories; there was provision, at small cost or at no cost at all, for the hungry and the thirsty. Little children were amused and taught. Attendants were at hand to answer questions and give assistance. Wheeled

chairs, gondolas, electric launches, elevated trains, made it easy to go from place to place. The city was not only clean and convenient, but managed for our pleasure; it was not forgotten that the citizens had eyes and ears and minds. At night there were exhibitions of fireworks, and processions of lanterns on the water, and illuminations of the Wooded Island, and a crown of light about the central dome. And in the day there was a changing program of events, concerts of orchestras and bands, meetings and speeches, besides all the marvels of art and machinery and commerce. And the city was surpassingly beautiful, like the splendors of the earlier time, Athens and Rome and Venice within sight of Chicago; so that we spent days looking at it and were content. It was what a city ought to be.

It is true, indeed, that the projectors were not hampered by any previous building; the ground was but a waste of marshy land when they began; though even here is a revelation of what may be accomplished with the most unpromising materials when genius and energy and money and the spirit of service set about it. The secret of the city, however, is in the principle upon which it was built. It was thought of as a whole. Instead of growing as most cities grow, every man following his own prudent or imprudent will, building his house after his own pattern, setting his factory in such place as he chooses, thinking first of himself and then—a long time after—of his neighbor, this city came into existence under the inspiration of the community idea. It was to a large extent a city of monop-

olies. One company lighted it, another provided its electric launches, another fed it—all under the regulation of the committee of control. Thus the citizens had good service at reasonable rates and were not obliged to pay for the expenses of advertising or of unnecessary establishments. For the construction and adornment of its buildings the best architects and artists, who had won a high position by their good work, were chosen and given their own way. The managers were not in office for the purpose of getting rich; what they wanted was to set up there beside the lake the worthiest city for its purpose that had ever stood upon the surface of the planet; and they did it.

III.

Why is it not done everywhere? What is the hindrance which keeps us back from these magnificent accomplishments? It is not necessary to go back for answer so far as the question of Epicurus, to whom his master said, "At the beginning of all things was chaos," whereupon Epicurus asked, "And what was before chaos?" Neither is it necessary to be as wise as the philosopher who wrote a book which he entitled "*De Omnibus Rebus*" ("Concerning All Things"), and afterward issued a supplement, "*Et Cæteris Rebus*" ("And a Few Other Things"). Custom, prejudice, unrestricted immigration, ignorant suffrage, human selfishness, all have part in the result. Many things must be amended and some things ended before the problem of the city will be solved. But there is one

chief hindrance; the trouble with the city is just that which under the same circumstances would beset and ruin any business: it is a lack of efficient men in the municipal offices.

What happens when a good man gets into office has been shown recently in New York in the police department and in the cleaning of the streets. Without change of law, simply by diligent use of the sufficient laws already passed and by virtue of a resolute purpose to serve the public, Colonel Waring has made the thoroughfares of that great city decent, and Mr. Roosevelt has made the police efficient, has closed the saloons during the hours prescribed by statute, and has measurably broken the alliance between the administration of the law and the maintenance of vice. The municipal laws in many instances, no doubt, are not so good as they ought to be, but they are good enough to give the citizens a much better city than they commonly enjoy at present. What is needed first is not better laws, but better men to enforce the present laws.

Why is it that we do not have the men? The answer is extremely simple. The problem of the city differs from most other elemental problems in our present life in that it may be solved without the need of any serious change in human nature. It is not easy, indeed, to bring it about, but it is a simple task to state it. The problem of the city cannot be solved so long as national politics prevent the choice of the best citizens for office. In the average city men get into the responsible offices of the municipal administration not

because they are competent, but because they are politicians. There are exceptions. There are men whom no fetters of partisan allegiance can keep from the discharge of duty. There are mayors who are intent upon the best interests of the city, and aldermen who cannot be bribed. Sometimes the party, in self-defense, in recognition of the better elements in the community, to save the day nominates a good man and elects him. It is not for nothing, however, that the American city has got its bad name.

The politician gets into office under cover of a confusion of issues. The one reasonable qualification for a public office is fitness to fill it. That is the plain rule in private business. Every citizen knows what would become of his affairs if he put them into the charge of persons selected for any other than a good sound business reason: they would fall speedily into the hands of the sheriff. Business cannot be conducted on any other than an intelligent and honest business basis. In the choice of men, however, to administer the revenues, decide the questions, and do the work of the city, the question of personal fitness is commonly obscured by the question of party affiliation. Is the man a Democrat? Is he a Republican? Then I will vote for him, because he belongs to my party. That is what a great many otherwise prudent persons say at every election.

The plan, therefore, of an unfit and dishonest man who wants to get his hand into the big bag in which we put our taxes is plain enough. If he stood upon his merits he would be rejected; so he attaches himself

to a party; he makes himself politically useful; he attracts the attention of the ring. Presently he is given a small office as a reward for his industry. Gradually he makes his way into the company of professional politicians who control the party. They, like him, have no interest in the party except for what they can get out of it. The principles for which it stands are as remote from their customary thinking as the Pandects of Justinian. The sole use of the party, in their sight, is to put them into such a position that honest citizens will vote for them. They announce themselves as Republicans or Democrats, as the case may be, and recite the party creed in loud chorus with every protestation of orthodoxy. In this company the dishonest man gets his position, and the money that we pay for clean streets and clean water and a good city he puts quietly to his credit in the bank.

That is what is the matter with the ring-governed city: it is mismanaged by men whom we have ourselves voted into office because they declared that they belonged to our party.

The initial thing, then, that must be done in order to bring the city into its right place in the social order is to get rid of this delusion of party. A choice must be made between the party and the city; that is the beginning of the program of municipal reform. Which is better, that a man keep his allegiance to his party, or cast his vote, regardless of party, for the best men to fill the city offices?

Everywhere in this country the reform movement encounters that question, and when it meets defeat,

and the ring wins, the trouble is that a good many men prefer to vote with their party. In other countries, where the cities are well governed and the scandal of maladministration has been forgotten in the gratitude of the citizens for present benefits, the politics of the state and the politics of the city are kept distinct. Party politics take as large a space in life in England as they do with us, but they do not enter into the affairs of the English city. That separation has made reform a possibility. Any city which lags behind in this matter, and holds to the old way which intelligent people in other countries are rid of, is bound to pay the same sort of proper penalty which any mill must pay if it is content with the machinery of fifty years ago.

It is hard to make people see that the city is to be compared not to the nation, but to the mill. It is a business enterprise in which all the citizens are stockholders. An election is a choice by the stockholders of the managers of the business. Nothing can well be more absurd than to mark a man's name upon a ballot because he proposes this or that theory of free trade or protection, of the Monroe Doctrine, of State rights, or of the monetary policy of the United States. These things are quite beside the question. It would be as wise to introduce our ecclesiastical as our political opinions into a city election and to say, This man will do because he is a Methodist, or, That man will do because he is a Presbyterian. What we want to get at is not the man's ideas about matters which are as remote from the administration of the city as they

are from the interests of the planet Mars ; we want to know whether he will serve us well in this particular corporation in which we are all responsible stockholders. It is a tremendously serious affair, upon the right settlement of which depends the prosperity of business, the condition of the streets, the efficiency of the schools, the general health, and the very life of the poor. And the idea of settling it upon any other basis than that of its own merits ought to receive no hospitality at the hands of any honest and sane citizen. Between the two questions, Shall I vote for the man who represents my party in national politics? and, Shall I vote for the man who will represent me for the best interests of the city? there is no room for indecision.

At this point, however, an evident difficulty presents itself. It is very well to say, Vote for the best man, but in many cases the best man is not nominated. The party on either side controls the machinery of nomination, and the man on the ticket is probably the agent of the ring, either of the ring that is in power or of the other ring that would like to take its place. The honest citizen has no choice.

It is a mistake to think that the indifference of the respectable voter to the casting of his ballot is a sign of indifference to the welfare of the city. It is more commonly the result of disgust and despair of the whole bad business. The respectable voter knows that, whichever way he votes, the machine will be in power. It is but an idle play at voting, a game with counters whose conclusion is of no consequence. It

is the old deceit of "heads I win, tails you lose." So he stays away out of a decent reluctance to make a fool of himself.

As for the primaries at which the nominations are made, they are in possession of expert professional politicians. An amateur has no place nor power in them. It is a part of the trade of the politician to manage the primary; his wages depend upon it; and when a compact organization intent on money is assailed by a number of unorganized but most excellent gentlemen who in a vague way are desirous of reform, the outcome of that contention is determined before it is begun.

IV.

The problem of the city, then, under these conditions, is similar to that which confronted William the Silent in his campaign against Philip of Spain. The first thing to do is to arouse and inform public opinion; the next thing is to organize an army. Both of these undertakings are at present under way.

A new interest is being awakened in the problem of the city. For many years the mind of the average citizen of the average town was so busily occupied with the tasks of the market and the mill, with the making of a comfortable livelihood, and then with the amassing of a fortune, that he gave scant attention to the public business. So long as he was reasonably rated on the tax list and was fairly protected against thieves and fire and typhoid fever he was content. A

few people with a taste for politics took care of the business of the municipality, and the other citizens were glad to have it so.

The natural consequences of neglect followed. The present condition grew properly out of it. The ring is not to be overblamed for it. The politicians did at first only that which nobody else wanted to do. By and by they discovered the advantages of the situation, and they made the most of it. Just now the average citizen is discovering the disadvantages of the situation; but for years it was not generally realized that the management of the city had any real relation to the life of the citizens. To-day it is being seen that prosperity and health and progress and character are touched by the conduct of municipal administration. All over the country good citizens are meeting together and holding conferences upon this matter. Examinations are being made into the accounts of the government, and people are looking with amazement at the facts which are thus disclosed. Public officers are being impeached; rings are being broken; party politicians, in self-defense, are advocating reforms. A change is in full progress; during the past two years more than two hundred associations of business men and other public-minded citizens have been formed in various cities to undertake the solution of the problem of the city.

One thing that the city needs is the loyalty of the people. No city ever reached a high place of prosperity without being believed in by its sons and daughters. To be a citizen of Rome was to have the freedom of

the planet. Venice commanded so entirely the allegiance of her citizens that her history, instead of being a record of great names, is a chronicle of great events done in the name and for the sake of the city. Men worked and fought for Venice, not for themselves. Take out of the Old Testament all reference to Jerusalem and the book is but a tattered fragment. The men of that old time were devoted to the city. The kings fought for the safety and the glory of the city. The prophets preached for the betterment of the city. The priests prayed for the peace of Jerusalem. It was the joy of the whole earth. God, they thought, cared more for Jerusalem than he did for any other place on the whole planet. Jesus Christ stands on the Mount of Olives looking over toward the city,

“Throned on her rock, crowned with the great white dome,
And girt with Kidron and the guardian hills,”

and the tears come into his eyes as he thinks of the approaching day when the fair walls shall be laid low. When the men of that time thought of heaven the farthest reach of their devout imagination was to picture it as a new Jerusalem. It would be like their beloved city, only a little better. That is the highest point which municipal loyalty has ever touched. A new Boston, or at least a new Chicago, would appear absurd as a description of heaven; but a new Jerusalem, in the vision of St. John, satisfied the largest wish he had.

The city needs also to be understood. One of the hindrances in the way of municipal reform is the

vagueness of idea which so many people have concerning the functions of the city. What is the proper duty of the city toward the people? The present movement is enlightening the general mind. Citizens are being told what privileges their neighbors have who live in better governed towns, and they are asking why they lack these privileges themselves. When two tenants make comparison, and one says, I pay such and such a rent, and my landlord provides me with electric light and the latest sanitary arrangements, and the other says, I pay more rent than that, and my landlord gives me nothing but gas and a hydrant in the back yard, there is a salutary discontent awakened in the mind of the less privileged tenant of which the landlord will presently hear. The difficulty has been thus far that the taxpayer has not definitely known what other citizens in other cities were getting in return for their taxes. The Good Government Club is busy at present in distributing this useful information. Dr. Shaw's two books on municipal government in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe are enlightening the minds of many people. A process of comparison is going on which can scarcely fail to effect serious changes. Whoever imagines that the American will go on quietly, content to pay more than his English, his German, or his French neighbors and get less, is mistaken in his estimate of the American character.

Together with this new idea of what a city ought to do for its citizens goes a better understanding of what the citizens ought to do for the city. Thus the supreme

hindrance of our present party politics comes into plain sight. The general mind is coming to recognize the fact that the party is in politics for its own sake always, for the sake of the city never.

A new factor appears in the problem of the city in the person of the new woman. When St. John saw the holy city coming down out of heaven, the symbol of that ideal municipality toward which we are working, it had the beauty of a bride, it had the grace of womanhood. The city and the woman were associated in his vision.

In the course of social evolution year by year new classes of people have come into the field of politics and have taken their part in the work of the community. The last to appear was the working-man. He has not yet settled into his place, and we do not know what he will do ; he himself does not know. The next to come will be the woman. The new forces which have transformed industry have given women a place in the daily work of the shop and of the market such as they have never had since the world began ; it is absolutely a new thing, a fact of our own time. That has happened of which our forefathers did not so much as dream : woman has become an economic factor. Regret it as we may, the day has gone by, never to return, when it was the glory of a woman to be described in the language of the epitaphs of queens in ancient Rome : " Domum servavit, lanum fecit " (" She stayed at home and spun "). When Harriet Martineau came here, in 1840, she found only seven employments open to women. To-day women are everywhere. They

have their part, and an increasingly important part, in all of the world's work. Mr. Carroll D. Wright has shown from the last census that in the manufacturing and mechanical industries of this country there is already one woman employed to every four men, and the number of working-women grows greater every year.

It is impossible that this economic change should go on without a corresponding political change. The great political changes of the past, by which little by little the idea of democracy has been translated into national life, have been preceded and prepared for by economic changes. The granting of the suffrage to women is, therefore, as sure an event of the approaching future as the rising of to-morrow morning's sun. We may deplore it, we may point out the evils that will result from it, we may vote against it and postpone it, we may have all the arguments on our side, but on the other side is the invincible logic of progress.

In the meantime organizations of women are interesting themselves in the problem of the city. That is to be expected and desired; the welfare of the city is of as much interest to women as to men. The house-keeper knows very well that there cannot be clean houses unless there are clean streets. The needs of the city are such as appeal directly to the intelligence of women. The condition of the schools, the housing of the people, the question of the public health, the regulation of the traffic in drink, the management of the city charities, the adornment of the town—all these

matters are of immediate and natural concern to women, and without their counsel and assistance will be done with clumsy fingers.

Women, too, are quick to see defects and are far less patient about them than men. Some of them, it is true, show an inadequate sense of the relation between cause and effect, and think, as George Eliot said, "that two and two *will* make five if they only cry a little and worry enough about it." But even this is a valuable quality and has a place in progress. For "women," as one of them said at a recent Good Government conference, "are naturally irreconcilable. They will not admit that what they disapprove is inevitable; therefore they constantly achieve the impossible. All the red tape of the British empire bound the slender hands of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea. She slipped it off without a misgiving to open the doors of the government storehouses to the starving and freezing soldiers. You remember how, in our own war, Mother Bickerdyke was told that it was 'impossible' to give out supplies to the sick and wounded for want of the proper requisitions. 'I guess *not*,' she said, with eyes aflame, and gave them out."

All this awakened and instructed public sentiment, however,—better interest, and better loyalty, and better understanding, and better people caring for the city,—will not avail to solve the problem until it is translated into organization. For the men who are at present in possession in most cities, and whose dethronement is the immediate and imperative business of good citizens, are thoroughly organized. Every city

is divided into election districts, each district polling two or three hundred votes. The city ring has its paid agent in each district, whose business it is to know the men who will vote their way and to bring them early to the polls on the day of the election. The ring in most cities has the employment of the men who work in the city offices. They are dependent for their places upon the pleasure of their masters. These people in a large city make up an army. In New York, for example, there are twenty-eight thousand of them. That makes twenty-eight thousand votes for the ring to begin with. Add the relatives and friends of these interested voters; also merchants, builders, plumbers, liquor-dealers whom the ring may make uncomfortable by "over-scrupulous enforcement of the city ordinances"; also contractors and their employees who do work for the city; also great corporations who find the good will of the ring of use; also the vicious classes who are in alliance with the police. Here, then, is a constituency which is to be found in every city over which a ring is ruler, and which can be depended upon to vote against the welfare of the public. No stress of public opinion alone can contend successfully against this compact, trained, and paid organization. There must be opposed to it another organization of equal strength. That seems impossible. The politician who is in the business for his place and his pay seems likely to be more than a match for the good citizen who is intent only upon the interests of the city. But in city after city to-day it is being proved that conscience and enthusiasm and the

spirit of service can overmaster the incentive of gain. Organization is facing organization and rescuing the city.

The municipal reformer forsakes the primaries of the party. The idea has been taught once and again, and there are still those who believe in it, that the reformer, if he will, may take possession of one or other of the parties and reform it. But experience shows abundantly that that does not happen. The reformer is invariably betrayed. The only thing to do is to go to the heart of the matter and fight the party. The Good Government Club puts its own ticket in the field. Then at last the perplexed citizen knows what to do. The problem of voting at a municipal election becomes other than an idle farce. It has a meaning and a purpose.

Then what will happen? At first failure; that is to be expected. The habit of indifference will not be overcome in a day; the grip of the ring upon the city will not be broken in a day. There must be failure, but success is certain. The American city, made up of American citizens, cannot continue to be a byword among the nations.

Oliver Cromwell, facing a problem similar to this, but greater, made up his mind that it could not be solved without the help of religion. "I raised such men," he said, "as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and whenever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually." That is the secret of it. The men who are never beaten are those who make

some conscience of what they do. They never know when they are beaten; they turn defeat into a victory. The problem of the city is a Christian problem, and it needs Christian men to solve it. The purpose of it is to make the city better that its people may be better. It would save men's bodies for the sake of their souls. It is in line with the purposes of Jesus Christ, and is to be undertaken in his name. It is by his help that we may hope to establish the city of God.

There is an idea, derived from much experience, that religion and politics do not go well together. But that depends on what is meant by politics and by religion. If by politics is meant the party and by religion is meant the sect, then is the combination evil indeed. For partisanship represents all that is bad in politics and sectarianism represents all that is bad in religion. Each is a form of selfishness, the spirit of service is in neither of them, and they are joined in marriage by the devil.

But if politics is defined to be the care of the interests of the people and if religion is defined as the application of the principles of Jesus Christ to the alternatives of daily life, public as well as private, then the two belong together. Politics properly understood is a part of religion. The primary and the polls are as close to the path of duty as the prayer-meeting.

When Christian, in "The Pilgrim's Progress," found himself in the City of Destruction he departed out of it as speedily as possible. Christian to-day knows his duty better. He has no thought of flight. Straight he goes and gathers other men like-minded with himself and undertakes the problem of the city.

THE DIVIDED CHURCH.

THE "Symphonie Fantastique" of Berlioz ends in the black depths of the nether pit, where a lost soul is jibed and mocked and hooted at by the whole mad rabble of those disreputable regions, by all the hoodlums of the slums of hell. Meanwhile the bells that are ringing at the funeral above sound in mournful cadence through the uproar, and the requiem mass is burlesqued by the infernal chorus. The solemn voices of the priests are heard chanting the "Dies Iræ," and at the end of every verse the evil spirits catch it up and sing it over in indescribable parody, to jig time, with blasphemous variations, intoxicated brass bands of devils playing accompaniment, faster and faster, louder and louder, higher and higher, ending with yells and derisive laughter. Every violin is going at full motion, every discordant piece of brass and wood shrieks in the mad chorus, the kettledrums keep up a roar of infernal thunder, and the cymbals add their shrill confusion to the din.

Thus do the inhabitants of the land of the worm and of the fire rejoice at some of the solemnities of the saints. Up above, sober faces and serious voices, services and sermons, discussions and controversies, con-

stitutions and by-laws, points of conscience, religious newspapers, trials of heretics, disputes of churches; down below, listening in the intervals of inextinguishable laughter, the delighted devils.

Certain it is that the saints have sometimes assisted Satan; their mistakes have counted on his side; their dissensions have been his opportunity. The Christian church, without doubt, has often been a source of great satisfaction to the devil. Many things which good people have undertaken, as they thought, in the clear light of duty, hating their brethren for the love of God, have gone his way. He especially delights to speak in the voice of conscience so that they mistake it for the voice of God. He knows very well that battles are won by him who keeps in mind the strategic maxim, divide and conquer. He has divided us and conquered time and time again. The problems which perplex us, and whose solution will be his defeat, are still unsolved, chiefly because the great Christian forces cannot, or do not, work together. Thus it is that the devil in all his portraits wears a smile. It is the pleased expression of one who sees those who might be fighting him fighting one another. At the heart of our perplexity is the problem of the divided church.

I.

The relation between the church and the churches has come of late into unusual prominence. The evils of ecclesiastical division have always been perceived with some measure of clearness, and prayers for better

unity have been prayed since the very beginning of separation. But until recently this recognition of existing wrong has been mostly confined to the older churches, from whose communion the others broke away, and the prayers have been more commonly found in prayer-books than in prayer-meetings.

It must in truth be said that the older churches, with all their perception of the need of closer fraternity, did not do much to bring it about. They stood apart, reproaching their brethren, preaching upon the sin of schism, discussing the uncovenanted mercies of God, and giving themselves to prayer and meditation, being profoundly grateful that they were better than their neighbors. They declined to concede anything. They required unconditional surrender. They saw clearly, however, that the divided Christendom is in contradiction to the will of Jesus Christ, and therein were in advance of the post-Reformation churches, who felt bound by a natural consistency to maintain both the righteousness and the advantage of division.

A considerable step was, indeed, taken fifty years ago in the establishment of the Evangelical Alliance. In a series of practical resolutions agreed to by the twelve hundred delegates who met in London for that purpose the members of the Alliance "earnestly and affectionately recommended to each other, in their own use of the press, carefully to abstain from and put away all bitterness and wrath and clamor and anger and evil-speaking, with all malice"; to pray every week, on Monday morning, for the advancement of Christian unity, and to keep a special season of prayer

at the beginning of each year; "to strive to promote, each in his own communion, a spirit of repentance and humiliation for its peculiar sins, and to exercise a double measure of forbearance in reproving, where reproof is needful, the faults of those Christian brethren who belong to bodies other than their own;" in all assertions of difference to avoid "rash and groundless insinuations, personal imputations, or irritating allusions, and to maintain the meekness and gentleness of Christ by speaking the truth only in love"; together with much more excellent advice, in the same good spirit.

About the same time, and as a fruit of the same spirit, the Young Men's Christian Association was founded. It also did much to dispel prejudice, to remove barriers, to bring about a better understanding, and a closer sense of fraternity, and a distrust of denominationalism.

Ten years later, in the Episcopal Church in this country, a memorial was presented to the General Convention setting forth the "divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity," and suggesting that the Episcopal Church by its bishops, as representing the historic fellowship of believers, "extend its ministerial orders to all persons properly qualified and desiring the same, without further conformity to the polity or the ritual of that communion." The proposal, after agitating two conventions, was finally defeated, but the ideas contained in it attracted attention and started fruitful thinking.

Then came the Civil War, and the minds of our

fellow-countrymen were turned another way. So twenty years passed by. After that, discussion began again along the whole line, and has since continued, increasing every year.

In 1883 Dr. Washington Gladden published in the "Century Magazine" his ingenious story, "The Christian League of Connecticut." In 1885, in the same magazine, Dr. Charles Woodruff Shields printed his ingenious essay, "The United Churches of the United States," which served as a text for many homilies.

In 1886 the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church issued their Four Articles of Church Unity, which in 1888 were adopted by the Lambeth Conference of bishops of the whole Anglican communion. Thus the time came when it could be declared with general assent that "the chief Christian problem of our age is the reunion of Christendom."

In 1895 the Pope of Rome addressed a letter to the English people upon the subject of church unity; the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a reply, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster made public comment on the correspondence. The Whitsunday of that year was preceded in the Roman Catholic world by a space of nine days of devotion, during which time prayer was made at all altars for the reunion of Christendom; while among Protestants the day itself was especially devoted to sermons upon that theme, recommendation to that effect having been made by bishops and representatives of many churches in Great Britain and this country. "Christendom," they say, "is becoming weary of its divisions." This common

observance of a day of prayer and preaching will, they hope, develop sympathy among Christians of different forms and orders, and will thus prepare them for that "ideal unity in diversity toward which the church universal is tending."

It is accordingly evident that the question of church unity is of interest to an increasing company of good people. It was characterized some time ago as an iridescent dream, and some conservative folk, weary of the whole discussion, have been saying of late that even the iridescence has gone out of it; but it is nearer to the truth to say that it is ceasing to be a dream. It is already a present problem, which insists upon an answer. There are those who assert that it is a tendency of the time, by which is meant that it is in line with the purposes of God, and is one of those growing ideas which, little by little, take possession of the social mind, so that we go to sleep opposed to them and wake up converted; and presently he who stands persistently in opposition finds himself in Mrs. Partington's attitude, who essayed, mop in hand, to resist the progress of the rising tide.

It becomes us, therefore, to examine the causes which bring this problem into its present prominence, and the methods which are suggested for its solution.

II.

The divided church challenges our immediate attention partly by reason of the ceasing of old controversies, partly on account of that change in the point

of view whereby our interest is largely transferred from the individual to society, and partly in consequence of a better understanding of our actual condition and of its practical results.

The old discussions, in which many of our present divisions had their rise, have ceased to be of vital interest to ourselves or to our neighbors. The old words, — predestination, transubstantiation, regeneration, and others equally long, equally difficult, and equally removed from the alternatives of common life, — war-cries once, awaken now little more than an academic or an antiquarian response. In few of the cases, if in any, has the old difference been resolved; we are as far apart as ever. But the disagreement does not at present seem a profitable matter for contention; it has fallen into the background. We read in history that Arminians and Calvinists once felt that they could best serve God by killing one another; and the layman looks up Arminianism under "A" and Calvinism under "C," to find what it was all about. It seems as far away as the wars between Israel and Judah.

For a good many years back the preacher has said little about denominationalism. He has preferred to preach Christianity. The polemics of the old time, when the Baptists and the Methodists, the Unitarians and the orthodox, assailed one another from behind the secure fortification of the pulpit, like the editors of their contemporary newspapers, are fallen for the most part into still silence. The American Protective Association is almost the only present reminder of that old pugnacious temper which once possessed the

churches; and we listen to its stout speeches with respect, indeed, for the honest convictions of the speakers, but with a confused sense of intrusion of the past into the better present, as if the middle ages, happily asleep these several centuries, were talking in a restless dream. One might listen now to six months of excellent preaching and never know whether the preacher wore this or that denominational badge beneath his coat.

There was a time when it seemed a glorious thing to be an obstinate sectarian. It meant something. It was a position of right and necessary protest against some denial of the liberty of man or some defamation of the character of God. But the protest in most cases was heeded long ago. There are churches which stand like abandoned lighthouses, marking spots which once were dangerous reefs, but which have long since been reclaimed from the sea and planted with wheat and flowers. Even their ministers, when they rise in church unity meetings to tell "why I am what I am," must needs say, "Because I chanced thus to be brought up." In this day of universal and persistent questioning, when every party and every premise and every man must stand up and give an explanation, our divisions do not meet the test.

The old controversies have ceased, not only because people have grown weary of them, but because the point of view has changed.

When the emphasis was upon the individual, denominationalism was natural enough. It represented in a rude way the importance of the solitary human

soul, the position of single and undivided responsibility in which it stood toward God, the absolute necessity that it should do its own thinking, live its own life, and work out its own salvation. It dethroned kings, and upon occasion beheaded them. It had scant reverence for priests or prelates, and cared not for institutions. It believed in absolute independence. It gave us that civil and religious liberty which we enjoy to-day.

But the old order changes. The wisest men of the present time, holding fast to all that is true in individualism, are insisting on the preëminence of society. That no man liveth to himself, that every man must not only bear his own burden, but must put a shoulder under the burden of his brother, is being translated out of the Greek of the New Testament into the vernacular of daily experience.

Thus the whole trend of life and thought is increasingly against our individualistic divisions. The mariners on the "broken pieces of the ship" are rowing in the teeth of the wind.

With this new social spirit in the world men are becoming increasingly aware of the enormous responsibilities of the church. When the church seemed to be related chiefly to the individual, when her task appeared to be only the fitting of men's souls one by one for heaven, denominationalism was logical enough, and perhaps answered the purpose sufficiently. But the church to-day has quite a different conception of its duty. Instead of simply preparing men to go to heaven, it is to bring heaven down here on this green

and brown earth on which we live. Instead of saving men from punishment, it is to save them from their sins. Instead of ministering only to the soul, it is to minister to the whole man.

There is a simple truth which is at present making great changes in primary education; it is the truth that the whole child goes to school. It was formerly held that the child's mind goes to school and brings its body along for the purpose of annoying the teacher. The whole child goes to school. Its eyes and its ears, its feet and its fingers, are to be considered. So, too, the whole man goes to church. Thus the range of the church's mission is wonderfully widened. The Christian religion has to do with the mind and the body as well as with the soul of man.

And when it is further realized that the church is meant to minister not only to the man and to the whole man, but to the whole community of men, that it stands in vital and responsible relation to the neighborhood, to the town, to the state, and to the planet, and is imperatively concerned in all the manifold interests of society, it becomes plain that the individual parish or even the individual denomination is not sufficient for these things. That is the inevitable logic of the whole present situation.

If a man intends to move a block of wood, a crowbar is enough, and his own hands will do; but if his errand is to move a house, he must have a company of trained men and a machine.

In this mind the Christian examines the conditions under which the church is working. He finds that in

this country there are one hundred and forty-five different denominations, each by itself, each aspiring to be the supreme church of the neighborhood and presently of the nation, attacking the devil in its own way, and sometimes, even in these times of peace, attacking its neighbors instead of the devil.

He finds further that the differences which divide many of these separated brethren are very small indeed. Some of them are only geographical or sectional, the heritage of a division which was long ago healed in the state. The politicians have excelled the saints. The children of this world have shown themselves not only wiser, but better, than the children of light. Other differences concern details of discipline, having nothing whatever to do with religion. Still others are but natural and necessary differences of opinion, which have been exaggerated into reasons for division by impatience or bad temper. They would not be received as valid even in divorce courts. They are mole-hills magnified by foolish imagination into volcanoes. Thus it is said that "without a single change in doctrine or polity the seventeen Methodist bodies could be reduced to three or four, the twelve Presbyterian to three, the twelve Mennonite to two." By the smallest measure of reasonable concession, involving only the simplest principles of common courtesy, our hundred and forty-five sects might be reduced to forty-two. And the differences which would still divide them would be of an origin so remote or of a character so obscure as to perplex the majority of intelligent church-members who might be asked to give an explanation.

To these statistics the enlightened Christian citizen is compelled to add certain serious consequences, until the number of churches seems sometimes a scandal like the number of saloons; and he remembers Father Taylor's prayer: "O Lord, deliver us from bigotry and bad rum; thou knowest which is worse, I don't." These consequences are economic, social, and spiritual.

The divided churches of the country town are poor. And their poverty is of an undignified, ignoble, and often discreditable kind. The expenses of many of them must of necessity be met in two mean ways: by asking alms, in appeals to the richer churches of the city; and by holding fairs, bazaars, strawberry festivals, private theatricals, and like entertainments. Concerning the alms, it must be said that the money is commonly obtained upon false pretenses, for it is really used not for the spread of the Christian religion, but for the maintenance of a needless separation. Concerning the fairs, confession must be made that they do not add to the spiritual power of the Christian church. Both alms and fairs take away parochial self-respect. The upright, independent business man looks on with thoughts in his heart.

If the trade of the country town were administered like its religion there would be twenty grocery stores where five would be enough, and every one would have a cheap and defective stock of goods and be upon the brink of bankruptcy. If the public education of the town were managed upon the same principle there would be seven school-houses where there are now but two—one where the teachers were all Protestants or

Democrats, another where total abstinence was taught in all the text-books, another where Anglo-Saxon weights and measures were displaced by the metric system, another where spelling was taught by sound rather than by sight, and another where all the girls wore yellow aprons and all the boys had purple bands about their hats. And the result would be a lot of ill-constructed buildings, occupied by ill-instructed teachers, where the children were trained in the eccentricities rather than in the essentials of right knowledge.

The divided churches are not only poor, but socially inefficient. They make but slight impression upon the life of the place. They hinder rather than hasten the solution of the pressing problems of the country town. What the people need is to be brought together; the churches keep them apart. The energy which ought to be directed toward the public good is dissipated in the wrangling parishes. Satan sets up his synagogue, and the churches watch him and do nothing. Only concerted action can avail, and that cannot be had.

There is a strike in the mill, but the churches cannot help it. There are open saloons and other entrances into hell, inviting the boys of the country town, but the churches can do little. Mobs are of no use in war. Battles are won by just that leadership and community of attack which the divisions of the churches make impossible. Effective blows are struck not with extended fingers, but with the good, hard, solid fist. The divided church threatens the devil with the Roman Catholic finger and the Congregational finger and the

Baptist finger and the Methodist finger and the Episcopal thumb, and he faces the assault with great serenity. He knows by long experience that that blow will not hurt. When the united church assails him he will begin to meditate retreat.

And these consequences of division, economic and social, lead on to sure spiritual disaster. Year by year, under this condition of things, the Christian religion fails. Good people, in despair, and for the sake of Christian peace, stay away from the churches. The debt grows greater and the pastor's term of service shorter. His salary has long since ceased to afford him either self-respect or books. For months one church or another is shut up, or is ministered to only by some occasional evangelist. By and by the country town falls into paganism. The churches have crowded out the church.

III.

The problem of the divided church, thus demanding to be answered, may be solved, some say by submission, others say by legislative action, others by coöperation.

The first of these is the method which is suggested by the Church of Rome. It has the merit of simplicity. Cardinal Vaughan, in his speech at Bristol, expressed it with a clearness which leaves no questions to be asked. "It is best," he said, "to be perfectly frank and definite. The kernel of the question of the reunion of Christendom consists in the admission of the Roman

claim that the pope has received by divine right authority to teach and govern the whole church. . . . It is not a question of examining and accepting a long list of Catholic doctrines. It is simply a question of the fundamental and essential constitution of the church. Did the divine Founder give his church a visible head upon earth, with power to teach, define, settle controversies, and govern? I fail," he says, "to see the use of discussing any other subject. Settle this matter and everything falls into its proper place and becomes easy. Reject this and there is no basis on which reunion is possible, even though men were prepared to affix their signatures to every other doctrine taught in the creed of Pope Pius IV."

This solution by submission, however, must be dismissed as making an impossible demand. It contradicts both history and human nature.

The divine Founder did not give his church a visible head upon earth, with powers such as are claimed for the Bishop of Rome. Those claims came long after, in the natural progress of events, shaped quite as much by politics as by religion, growing out of necessity and opportunity and ambitions good and bad, and as remote from Peter as the Tiber is remote from the Jordan. James and John did once, indeed, aspire to occupy the chief seats in the coming kingdom, but they were told that the only greatness which a disciple of Jesus Christ should seek is that which consists in preëminence in service. Peter, if he had any such ambition, kept it discreetly to himself. It is true that for a few years he was a prominent figure in the

church, but afterward he took but a minor part, giving place to James of Jerusalem and to Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles. Julius Cæsar had as much to do with the papacy as Simon Peter.

It is, moreover, to be maintained, in opposition to the Roman proposals for reunion, not only that the divine Founder did not give his church any such visible head to teach and govern, but that he omitted such appointment purposely, for good reasons. To have made it would have established two conditions, infallibility and uniformity, which he carefully avoided.

Jesus Christ was always compelling men to think. When enthusiastic people came to him with words of faith upon their lips, he stopped them, and set them tests, and made them consider what they said; he did not welcome unintelligent allegiance. It is noticeable also that he took care to leave opportunity for doubt and for dissent. When he did his miracles a naturalistic interpretation was commonly possible, and it is seldom recorded that all who saw believed. Men were always asking him to speak plainly and tell them this and that. They demanded that he should assume the manner of infallibility and compel their faith; but he did not do it. Such compulsion as he exercised was only that which is put forth in the glory of the sky, in the majesty of the mountain, in the beauty of the picture, or in the sound of music. They who recognized him were satisfied. As for the others, their condemnation was that light was come into the world, and they had a preference for darkness. But all that the light did was to shine. An infallible teacher tells

me of the splendor of the sun, and I accept it; he writes out an accurate description, and I sign my name to it. But a neighbor of mine with his own eyes sees the sun; the warmth of it and the shine of it and the wonder of it fill his soul. The difference between my definition—on paper, at second hand—and his sight is the difference between what men ask for under the name of infallibility, and what God gives to those who unfeignedly love him.

As for uniformity, human nature is manifestly in arms against it. We are not made alike, we do not look alike; why should we think alike? Amid all the doubt and perplexity and confusion which we meet in our study of the problem of reunion, this at least may be set down as absolutely and eternally settled: that no plan will prevail which proposes uniformity. It is forbidden both by the nature of truth and by the nature of man.

We have learned that truth, instead of being found in an alternative between opposite assertions or in a compromise by which each is pared down or dressed up to resemble the other, is often discovered to contain them both. The two forces, attraction and repulsion, by whose even balance the universe exists, are a parable illustrating a long series of paradoxes. Shall we believe in the omnipotence of God, or in the freedom of the human will? Is God transcendent, or is he immanent? Is man naturally depraved, or is he naturally divine? Is the Bible the word of God, or is it the word of man? I read my side of the shield, and you read your side; which of us is right? Thus the very

nature of truth is the sanction of difference and puts uniformity of thinking out of the question.

Indeed, it appears, as the race is intelligently studied, that difference and progress go together. Man grows out of savagery into civilization by the development of personality. The process begins when a few individuals emerge from the great monotonous multitude and are seen to have characteristics of their own. They are called kings and priests. Little by little, others come over to their side. Powder and printing set a great many free from the bondage of monotony; steam and electricity are in our own day liberating others. The masses are becoming less. The old uniformity, in which every man looked like his next neighbor, and thought like him or not at all, is passing away. The complaint is sometimes made that the great men are all dead, that the day is gone in which a few stood head and shoulders above all the others. Machinery and uniformity seem to belong together. But the truth is that, while once only a few were able to live their own lives, to-day that is the privilege of many. The sinking of personality, the shaping of mankind after one pattern, the endeavor to deal with people according to Procrustes's plan, is of the past. Diversity, not uniformity, is the law of progress. The problem of the divided church will never be settled by submission.

IV.

The second proposed solution is by legislative action. The idea is that by discussion in denominational con-

ventions, by the setting forth of terms or ideals of reunion, and by conference and correspondence between representatives of different sects, some right conclusion may be reached.

Thus in 1886 the Protestant Episcopal Church issued a declaration of essentials. It was slightly amended by verbal changes in a conference of bishops of the Anglican communion held at Lambeth in 1888, and thus reads :

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

"2. The Apostles' Creed as the baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

"3. The two sacraments ordained by Christ himself, —Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,—ministered with unfailing use of the words of institution and of the elements ordained by him.

"4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of his church."

These articles were sent to conventions of other Christian bodies as a basis of negotiations. From the first there was a difference of opinion both within and without the church which proposed them as to their meaning. By some they were interpreted to mean much ; others understood them to mean little. Some said that the doors were opened wide ; others said that the doors were shut as fast as ever, and that the Lam-

both Articles were handed out through the wicket. After ten years of discussion it is at present clear that a considerable number, perhaps a majority, of Episcopalians are agreed upon two things: first, that the concessions of this document are more apparent than real; and secondly, that the fourth article involves the universal acceptance of the Episcopal form of church government, and requires that all ministers shall submit to reordination at the hands of Episcopal bishops.

Thus the Church Unity Society deprecates a widespread misrepresentation of the Chicago-Lambeth declaration. It was not put forth, they say, as a "finished protocol or constitution to supersede all existing churches. In standing for the historic episcopate it stands for the historic church, and that which is historic has parts and powers, usages and customs, which cannot be swept aside or abrogated in a moment. That platform is set forth as a basis for negotiations, as embodying the last and fundamental principles which could not under any circumstances be yielded or altered to secure unity; but long and careful discussions and negotiations must be carried on before any one of the existing Christian bodies could come into vital union with our branch of the church."

And as regards the ministry, Dr. Morgan Dix, representing a large proportion of the Episcopal Church, thus speaks in a sermon preached during the session of the General Convention of 1895, and published by formal request of many bishops and clergy. "Of this," he says, "the power lies in the fact that it is the ordinance of the Lord and not of man. Ministries of late

origin, ministries of human origin, have no place here, whatever good purposes they may have elsewhere. It has recently become the fashion to speak of the hierarchy of the church under the descriptive term 'historic.' Let there be no concealment of fact, no surrender of claim, under cover of this ambiguous adjective. He sells the birthright who, under cover of any qualifying term, denies that from the apostles' time there have been three orders in the church, that these are of divine appointment, that they are essential to the complete organization of the kingdom of God."

These unofficial utterances of a society and of a preacher found formal verification in legislative action at Minneapolis, where a proposition to put the four articles into immediate practical effect was defeated, and the request of the Presbyterian General Assembly, that steps be taken looking to "mutual recognition and reciprocity," was declined.

In the meantime that considerable company of Christians known as Disciples, meeting in convention in 1891, offered a basis of union in these three propositions:

"1. The original creed of Christ's church, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God.

"2. The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the former defined as the immersion of penitent believers in the name of the Lord Jesus, and into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

"3. The life which has the sinless Son of man as its perfect exemplification."

With this statement the Baptists would be in consistent agreement. This would therefore be the position of the largest section of our divided Protestantism ; for the Baptists and the Disciples together number more than four millions, while there are less than six hundred thousand Episcopalians, and not more than a million Presbyterians of all kinds. The conscientious requirement of a certain ritual in the administration of the sacrament of baptism comes, therefore, into large importance among the terms in which the problem of the divided church must be stated.

Legislative action, then, as a method of answering the question which confronts us, has thus far accomplished little more than to indicate the difficulties of the situation. It has made it plain that there are two barriers, one of polity and the other of ritual, which block the way. No disposition has been shown to concede either of these matters or even to admit of the existence of an alternative ; and the case is complicated in each respect by the firm conviction of perhaps a majority of Baptists and of Episcopalians that their contention is founded upon the very will of God. All Christians, except the Baptists, hold that the amount of water used in baptism is of no consequence ; all Protestant Christians, except the Episcopalians, hold that the Episcopal form of government has no warrant in the word of God. Nevertheless, it is at present impossible for most Baptists to contemplate a right reunion of Christendom upon any other basis than the conversion of all other Christians to the Baptist Church. It is equally impossible for Episcopalians to

conceive of a universal church which shall not be administered by bishops: we must all be Episcopalians. So that legislation, in its last analysis, comes to the position which the pope frankly avows. The legislative assemblies will not be contented unless they have their way.

To these arguments of conscience two further considerations must be added: the conservatism of custom and the reluctance of law. The first is illustrated by the plea that was offered in a court of justice, to the effect that University College, Oxford, must undoubtedly have been founded by King Alfred, because that fact had been solemnly stated in the daily prayers of the professors and students of that institution for a great many years. And the second finds example in the comments made of old by the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Litchfield upon the latest aggression of the Abbot of Glastonbury. "It is not right," said the Bishop of Lincoln. "No," cried his brother of Litchfield, "nor canonical." There are always those who ask, not, Is it right? but, Is it canonical? Should a course of fraternal action be shown to be right beyond a peradventure, there will still be amendments, and amendments of amendments, and substitutes for both, till the day of judgment shall find us still debating.

When Robert Owen, the socialist, founded at Queenwood his Harmony Hall for the regeneration of humanity, he inscribed upon its face the letters, "C. of M.," meaning "Commencement of Millennium." That inscription cannot yet be written over the door of any ecclesiastical assembly.

V.

We come, therefore, to the proposal to solve the problem by coöperation. This plan puts the matter into the hands of the people. The suggestion of submission is made by ecclesiastical potentates; the endeavor to adjust the difficulty by legislation is the work of ecclesiastical conventions. But coöperation waits for neither sovereigns nor statesmen; anybody may begin it. Neither does it tarry till our theories be grown. The Dutchman, in "Knickerbocker's History of New York," who proposed to jump over a hill felt that a good start was needed for so considerable a leap; he therefore ran five miles, at the end of which distance he sat down, out of breath, at the foot of the hill and got rested. It is a wise fable, in which we may read the folly of overmuch preliminary discussion. By a step at a time we get over the hill. As we go it still comes true, as it did with the lepers, that we are cleansed, we are directed, and we make our way into the kingdom of heaven. When we come to the turn in the road we will determine what to do; in the meantime the path is plain for at least a little way before our feet. The discoverer does not wait till he has a map of the unknown country; he makes his map as he goes along.

No device of malice or wickedness is a greater obstacle to progress than the determination of good people to meet emergencies before they emerge, and to settle details before they arise, and to anticipate the

premises with the conclusion. *Solvitur ambulando*—we will find out by going on.

Accordingly, the Congregational churches, at their recent council, adopted the following platform of union: "We propose to the Protestant evangelical churches a union or alliance based upon:

"1. The acceptance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, inspired by the Holy Ghost, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of Christian faith.

"2. Discipleship in Jesus Christ, the divine Lord and Saviour, and the Teacher of the world.

"3. The church of Christ, which is his body, whose great mission it is to preach his gospel to the world.

"4. Liberty of conscience in the interpretation of the Scriptures and in the administration of the church."

Such an alliance of the churches, they say, should have regular meetings of their representatives, and should have for its objects, among others: 1. Mutual acquaintance and fellowship; 2. Coöperation in foreign and domestic missions; 3. The prevention of rivalries between competing churches in the same field; 4. The ultimate visible union of the whole body of believers.

The most important part of the document is this series of practical suggestions with which it ends. They are based upon the great measure of spiritual unity which undoubtedly exists, and upon the pressing need which is felt of the better realization of this unity in the work of the divided church. Sometime, these brethren hope, there will be again a catholic church,

a united fellowship of believers; but in the interval, which promises to be somewhat protracted, while the statesmen are discussing the concessions and the adjustments, let us undertake such matters as lie closest to our hand. We do not as yet seem able to say either our creed or our prayers together; the validity of ministries and the administration of sacraments is still in unpromising dispute; the doors of some of our pulpits and the gates of some of our chancels are still close shut; but there are some good things which we can do together.

We may meet for fraternal conference. We may divide the parish into as many districts as there are congregations, and assign each section to a particular church for special evangelistic and humanitarian work. The church accepting such assignment may consider itself personally responsible for the unchurched population of such streets and for the necessary amendment of social conditions. It will account itself an aggressive mission, a Good Government Club, a regiment enlisted for actual service against the powers of darkness. It will set itself resolutely to become a definite Christian influence in that neighborhood.

From the reports made by these groups to the meeting of the ministers there will presently be constructed a war map of the parish, upon which will appear the actual disposition of the various forces: on this side the army of righteousness and light, intrenched in churches, school-houses, honest men's shops and mills and homes, meeting-rooms of progressive societies; and on that side the allies of the nether pit, the saloons, the

houses of disorder, the residences of the reprobate, sweat-shops, unsanitary tenements.

Upon this basis the campaign will be planned and carried out. It will be undertaken not as a battle, but as a war, and in the sure confidence that many people will be found in sympathy with Sir Philip Sidney's excellent counsel, "Whenever you hear of a good war, go to it." The various needs of the parish will be understood. Here there ought to be a mission, and there a boys' club; in this place a fountain, and in that a park. The saloons are open at illegal hours. Perhaps we can get them closed up altogether; and if we do, or even if we fail, what can we offer in the place of them? The police are inefficient; sanitary conditions are bad; streets are neglected; our representative in the town council is not attending to the best interests of the community; the people have no lectures, or no music, or no good recreation. These are matters for which no single denomination is competent. Protestant and Catholic, liberal and evangelical, may meet to discuss these matters without prejudice to creed or order. It is possible, indeed, that the drafting of a constitution and the adopting of a set of by-laws might introduce some discord, and that an election of officers might be a cause of disaffection, and that the taking of a vote might offend some timid or pugnacious brother. But these are quite beside the real purpose, and serve to distract the energies of the workers from their work, and the less of them the better.

Thus, without theory and without compromise, actual Christian unity begins. Up to this point we have

been in the position of the hunter, in Æsop's fable, who was looking for traces of a lion, and who came upon a wood-cutter and said to him, "Have you seen about here any traces of a lion?" To which the wood-cutter replied, "My good friend, come with me and I will show you not only traces of a lion, but the real lion himself." Whereupon the hunter drew back in some alarm, saying, "No; I am looking only for traces of a lion." We have our traces of a lion, marks of his four feet in our four articles of reunion. Some people seem to be satisfied to approach no nearer. And, indeed, the way has been so close beset with underbrush and pitfalls that we are still at a long distance. But here we begin to get a glimpse of the lion himself.

Coöperation is virtual reunion so far as it goes. It does not, indeed, reconcile our differences, but it promotes our work, it puts an end to some of our cross-purposes, it directs our efforts, and it advances the kingdom of God in the community. Some kind of coöperation, it is plain, is essential to the right performance of the church's plainest tasks.

In New York City there are 555 churches. Most of them were built and some of them are still administered upon the lines of narrow denominationalism. The parish is considered rather than the city, and the interests of the sect are advanced rather than the cause of Jesus Christ. "One district, with a population of 16,391 bodies, has one saloon to every 111 inhabitants, and one church to every 8196. . . . The situation is worse in another district, with one saloon to every 158,

and one church to every 9422. . . . In a third district the situation is worst of all: among 49,359 inhabitants there is one saloon to every 208, and one church to every 9872." These communities are below Fourteenth Street. "In a section between Twenty-fourth and Fifty-ninth streets, west of Eighth Avenue, there is but one church to 10,561 of population; in the same, west of Ninth Avenue, one church to 14,850; west of Tenth Avenue, one to 31,926. West of Tenth Avenue, between Fortieth and Sixty-fourth streets, there is only one church; there are 46,563 people living in that district."

The pamphlet from which I quote these figures is entitled "What are the Churches Going to Do about it?" And the answer which is suggested is that they form a federation for the purpose, not of making Baptists or Episcopalians or Methodists, but of saving the souls of neglected people in the parish of New York. This is but one of many similar movements in various parts of the country.

It is in the right direction. It is the beginning of the solution of the problem of the divided church. Submission is morally impossible; legislative action is slow, reluctant, and uncertain; but coöperation, first in the simplest manner among the churches of the neighborhood, then embracing the Christian activity of the town, and extending presently to the denominations themselves—this, it is true, is not enough and does not satisfy our prayers, but it is at least a long step up the hard hill, and it is possible to-morrow.

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JL

